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BURT FRANKLIN: RESEARCH SOURCE WORKS SERIES #187

AMERICAN CLASSICS IN HISTORY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE #29

Joutel's Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage

Joutel's Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage

A reprint (page for page and line for line) of the first English translation, London, 1714; with the Map of the original French edition Paris, 1713, in facsimile; and Notes by Melville B. Anderson

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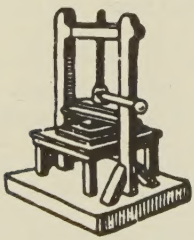

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A

JOURNAL

Of the LAST

VOYAGE

Perform'd by

Monſr. de la Sale,

TO THE

GULPH of MEXICO,

To find out the

Mouth of the *Miſſiſipi* River;

CONTAINING,

An Account of the Settlements he endeavour'd to make on the Coaſt of the aforeſaid *Bay*, his unfortunate Death, and the Travels of his Companions for the Space of Eight Hundred Leagues acroſs that Inland Country of *America*. now call'd *Louiſiana*, (and given by the King of *France* to M. *Crozat*,) till they came into *Canada*.

Written in French *by Monſieur* JOUTEL,
A Commander in that Expedition;
And Tranſlated from the Edition juſt publiſh'd at Paris.

With an exact Map of that vaſt Country, and a Copy of the *Letters Patents* granted by the K. of *France* to M. *Crozat*.

LONDON, Printed for *A. Bell* at the *Croſs-Keys* and *Bible* in *Cornhill*, *B. Lintott* at the *Croſs Keys* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, and *J. Baker* in *Pater-Noſter-Row*, 1714.

THE

French BOOKSELLER

TO THE

READER.

THE Manuſcript of this Journal hapning to fall into my Hands, and having ſhewn it to ſome Perſons well vers'd in theſe Affairs, they were of Opinion it deſerv'd to be printed; eſpecially at this Time, when travels are ſo much in Requeſt, and in regard this is now ſeaſonable, on Account of the Deſcription it gives of the famous River Miſſiſipi *and of the Country of* Louiſiana, *where it is intended to make great Settlements. Beſides, this Relation is uncommon, curious and ingaging, both in Regard to the Honour and Advantage*

tage of the Nation, for as much as it contains the Attempts and the bold and glorious Undertakings of our French *Adventurers, who not ſatisfied, like others, with diſcovering the Borders and Coaſts of unknown Countries, proceed to penetrate into the Inland, through a thouſand Dangers and Hazards of their Lives. Is it not very commendable in them, to make us fully acquainted with that great remaining Part of the World, which for ſo many Ages continued unknown to our Forefathers, till about two hundred Years ago* Chriſtopher Columbus *diſcover'd it, and* Americus Veſpuſius *going over ſoon after, gave it his Name, cauſing it to be call'd* America? *One of thoſe whom I deſired to peruſe this Manuſcript, has a little poliſh'd it, purſuant to the Orders I receiv'd; and he having been a conſiderable Traveller, was a proper Perſon to judge of and put it into a Dreſs fit to appear in publick. The Letter he writ to me, being not only inſtructive, in Relation to the Journal, but of Uſe as a curious Supplement to it, I thought the inſerting of it would be acceptable. It is as follows.*

SIR,

SIR,

I Return you your Manuſcript; the Reading of it has reviv'd the Satisfaction I once took in my Travels; it has oblig'd me to read over again thoſe of ſeveral Perſons, who have writ of *Canada*, and carry'd me in Imagination through thoſe vaſt, barbarous and unknown Countries, with much more Eaſe and leſs Danger than was done by the Hero of this Relation. He certainly deſerves that honourable Title, and having read his Adventures, I could not forbear ſaying with the Poet

Illi robur & æs triplex
Circa Pectus erat.

For what an extraordinary Strength, what a Vigour of Body and Mind was requiſite for him to project, to undertake and to go thro' with ſo unuſual, ſo bold and ſo difficult an Enterprize. A Diſcovery of above eight hundred Leagues of barbarous and unknown Countries, without any beaten Roads, without Towns, and without any of thoſe Conveniencies, which render Travelling more eaſy in all other

other Parts. All the Land-Carriage is reduc'd to walking afoot; being often without any other Shoes but a Piece of a Bullock's Hide wrapp'd about the Feet; carrying a Firelock, a Snapſack, Tools and ſome Commodities to barter with the Natives. It is true that accidentally and but very rarely a Horſe is found to help out a little.

If they muſt venture upon the Water, there are only ſome wretched Canoes, made either of the Barks of Trees or of Bullocks Hides, and thoſe they muſt often carry or drag along the Land, when the Falls of the Rivers obſtruct making uſe of them. All the Bed is lying on the bare Ground, expoſed to the Inclemencies of the Air, to be devour'd by Alligators and bit by Rattle Snakes; without Bread, Wine, Salt and all other Comforts of Life, and this for ſome Years. The Diet altogether conſiſts in a poor Pap or Haſty-Pudding made of the Meal of *Indian* Corn, Fiſh half broil'd or ill boil'd, and ſome Beef or wild Goats Fleſh, dry'd in the Air and Smoke. Beſides, what a Trouble is it to invent Signs to be underſtood by ſo many ſeveral Nations, each of which has it's peculiar Language? All this an Adventurer muſt reſolve with himſelf to go through, who deſigns to make Diſcoveries in *Canada;* and it would be hard to believe this

this, did not all thoſe who write of it exactly agree in this Particular.

However that Country is good and pleaſant, at leaſt towards the South, which is what is here ſpoken of. The Temparature of the Climate is admirable, the Soil excellent for Tillage, and it is extraordinary fertil in all Sorts of Grain and Fruit; which appears by thoſe the Land produces of it ſelf in great Plenty. The Hills and Woods produce Timber for all Uſes and Fruit Trees, as well of cold as hot Countries. There are Vines which want but little Improvement; there are Sugar-Canes, large Meadows, and navigable Rivers full of Fiſh. It is true they are infeſted with Alligators, but with a little Care they are to be avoided; as may the Rattle-Snakes, which are extraordinary venomous, but never bite unleſs they are hurt. There are thouſands of wild Bullocks, larger than ours, their Fleſh good, and inſtead of Hair, they have a Sort of curl'd Wool extraordinary fine. There are Abundance of Deer, wild Goats and all Sorts of wild Fowl, and more eſpecially of Turkeys. As there are Poiſons and Venoms, ſo there are immediate and wonderful Antidotes.

We muſt not look there for rich and ſtately Cities, or lofty Structures, or any of thoſe Wonders of Architecture, or the Remains

mains and ancient Monuments of the Vanity of great Men; but we may there admire Nature in its beautiful Simplicity, as it came from the Hands of its Creator; without having been alter'd or depraved by Ambition or Art.

But is ſo vaſt and ſo beautiful a Country only for Beaſts, Birds and Fiſhes! O inconceiveable Wonder! There is an infinite Number of People, divided into Nations, living in Cottages made of the Barks of Trees, or cover'd with Reeds or Hides, when they are not abroad at War, or Hunting, or Fiſhing, almoſt naked, without any other Bed but a Bullock's Hide, or any Houſhold-Stuff but a Pot or Kettle, an Axe and ſome Platters made of Bark. They take their Suſtenance, as it comes in their Way, and like the Beaſts; they have no Care, do not value Wealth, ſing, dance, ſmoke, eat, ſleep, hunt, fiſh; are independant, make War, and when an Opportunity offers, take Revenge of any Injury in the moſt cruel Manner they are able. Such is the Life of thoſe Savages. Tho' there be ſome in the Southern Parts, not quite ſo ſtupid and brutal as thoſe in the North, yet they are both Savages, who think of Nothing but what is preſent, love Nothing but what is obvious to the Senſes, incapable of comprehending any Thing that is Spiritual; ſharp and ingenious in what

what is for their own Advantage, without any Senſe of Honour or Humanity; horribly cruel, perfectly united among themſelves to their Nation and their Allies; but revengeful and mercileſs towards their Enemies. To conclude, their Shape, tho' hideous, ſhews they are Men; but their Genius and Manners render them like the worſt of Beaſts.

A modern Author, who has liv'd in *Canada*, and in other Reſpects has writ well enough, has perhas fancy'd, he might diſtinguiſh himſelf, and be thought more underſtanding than other Men in diſcovering the Genius of thoſe People, by aſſigning more Ingenuity and Penetration to the Savages, than is generally allow'd them. He ſometimes makes them to argue too ſtrongly and too ſubtilely againſt the Myſteries of Chriſtian Religion, and his Relation has given juſt Occaſion to ſuſpect, that he is himſelf the Libertine and Talking Savage, to whom he has given the artful Malignity of his Notions and Arguments.

La Houtan's *forged Diſcourſe with a Savage, wherein he renders himſelf ridiculous.*

As for the Genius of the Savages, I am of Opinion, we ought to believe the Miſſioners; for they are not leſs capable than other Men to diſcover the Truth, and they have at leaſt as much Probity to make it known. It is likely, that they, who have for an hundred Years paſt, wholly apply'd themſelves

themſelves, according to the Duty of their Function, to ſtudy thoſe poor Images of Men, ſhould not be acquainted with them? Or would not their Conſcience have check'd them, had they told a Lye in that Particular? Now all the Miſſioners agree, that allowing there are ſome Barbarians leſs wicked and brutal than the reſt; yet there are none good, nor thoroughly capable of ſuch Things as are above the Reach of our Senſes; and that whatſoever they are, there is no relying on them; there is always cauſe to ſuſpect them, and in ſhort, before a Savage can be made a Chriſtian, it is requiſite to make him a Man; and we look upon thoſe Savages as Men, who have neither King nor Law, and what is moſt deplorable, no God; for if we rightly examine their Sentiments and their Actions, it does not appear that they have any Sort of Religion, or well form'd Notion of a Deity. If ſome of them, upon certain Occaſions, do ſometimes own a Firſt or Sovereign Being, or do pay ſome Veneration to the Sun. As to the firſt Article, they deliver themſelves in ſuch a confuſe Manner, and with ſo many Contradictions and Extravagancies, that it plainly appears, they neither know nor believe anything of it; and as for the ſecond, it is only a bare Cuſtom, without any ſerious Reflection on their Part.

The Natives of Canada *brutal.*

A

A miſerable Nation, more void of the Light of Heaven, and even that of Nature, than ſo many other Nations in the *Eaſt Indies*, who, tho' brutal and ſtupid as to the Knowledge of the Deity, yet are not without ſome Sort of Worſhip, and have their Hermits and *Fakirs* who endeavour by the Practice of horrid Penances, to gain the Favour of that Godhead, and thereby ſhew they have ſome real Notion of it. Nothing of that Sort is to be found among our *American* Savages, and in Concluſion, it may be ſaid of them in General, that they are a People without a God.

Our *French*, who are born in Canada all of them well ſhap'd, and Men of Senſe and Worth, cannot endure to have their Savages thus run down. They affirm they are like other Men, and only want Education and being improv'd; but beſides that we may believe they ſay ſo to ſave the Honour of their Country, we advance nothing here but what is grounded on the Report of many able and worthy Perſons, who have writ of it, after being well inform'd on the Spot. We are therefore apt to believe, that there is a Diſtinction to be made at preſent between two Sorts of Savages in *Canada*, *viz.* thoſe who have been converſant among the *Europeans* for ſixty or eighty Years paſt, and the others who are daily diſcover'd; and it is of the latter

that

that we ſpeak here more particularly, and to whom we aſſign all thoſe odious and wretched Qualities of the Savages of *North America;* for it is well known, that the firſt Sort of them, as for Inſtance, the *Hurons*, the *Algonquins*, the *Iroquois*, the *Iſlinois* and perhaps ſome others are now pretty well civiliz'd, ſo that their Reaſon begins to clear up, and they may become capable of Inſtruction.

Amazing and incomprehenſible, but at the ſame Time adorable Diſpoſition of Divine Providence! We ſee here a vaſt Tract of the Earth, of an immenſe Extent, of a wonderful Soil for Tillage and Fertility in all Sorts of Fruit and Grain; of an admirable Temperature as to the Air, which appears by the very numerous Inhabitants being ſcarce ſubject to any Diſeaſes, and in that the Sex, which among us is weak, is there Strong and Vigorous, bringing forth their Children with little or no Pain, and ſuckling them amidſt Labour and Fatigues, without any of thoſe Miſeries they are liable to in our Countries. Yet that vaſt and beautiful Country, deſcrib'd in this Journal, ſo much favour'd with Worldly Bleſſings, has been for ſo many Ages deſtitute of the Heavenly.

Strong Women.

The infinite Numbers of People inhabiting it are Men, and have ſcarce any thing but the Shape; they are God's Creatures, and

and do not ſo much as know, much leſs ſerve him. Thoſe who have the Courage and Boldneſs to travell through the Countries of ſuch Savages, and thoſe who read the Relations of ſuch Travellers, ought to take Care how they make any raſh Reflections upon this Point, or pry too deeply into it; for they may chance to loſe themſelves in their Thoughts. The ſhortest and the ſafeſt Courſe is, in ſuch Caſes, to adore the inconceivable Profoundneſs of the Creator's Wiſdom; to give a Check to all our Enquiries and Curioſities, with the Apoſtle's Exclamation, *O the Depth of the Riches both of the Wiſdom and Knowledge of God! How unſearchable are his Judgments and his Ways paſt finding out!* And never ceaſing to return Thanks to his Goodneſs, for having ſo abundantly ſupply'd us with his Light and Grace, to conjure him to impart the ſame to thoſe poor diſtreſs'd *Americans*, and that he who is Almighty, will of thoſe Stones make Children of *Abraham*. This all Chriſtians are oblig'd inceſſantly to pray for, becauſe as Brutiſh and Stupid as thoſe Savages are, they are ſtill our Brethren, ſince like us deſcended from *Adam* and *Noah*.

How much are we then oblig'd to those bold Travellers, who undertake new Diſcoveries, who to the Hazard of their Lives, at their own Expence, and with ſuch extraordinary

traordinary Toils, go to find out for us, not only numerous Objects of our Curiosity and Admiration, which were before unknown to us, but who also discover to us a numerous Kindred, which is not ever the less such, for having been so long unknown to us. What if it be brutal and indocible, it will be the more Meritorious to Labour at Civilizing of and making it capable of receiving the Lights of Reason and of Faith. We can never sufficiently express our Gratitude to those who apply themselves to the making of new Discoveries; the more Difficulties that attend them, the more we are beholding to those who undertake them. Supposing that Avarice, Ambition, a restless Temper, or a desperate Fortune, are very often the Occasions of such Undertakings; yet God, who can draw Good out of Evil, makes all those Passions subservient to his Glory, and the Salvation of his Elect, and if long Travels do not commonly make Saints of the Travellers, it is their own Fault. However, they at least prepare the Way to the Sanctification of so many Barbarians, beating a Road for the Missioners, who go to instruct those People. Thus all the World is beholden to them; the Savages for the Knowledge of God that is procur'd them; and we for finding by their Means an infinite Number of People before

before unknown, who will join with us in Serving and Glorifying the Creator of the Univerſe.

Granting that the ſaid Travellers are not ſometimes exact, or agree among themſelves in their Relations, their Deſcriptions and their Maps; this muſt be an unavoidable Fault in Diſcoverers; but even that is advantageous to the Publick, for as much as their Succeſſors are excited to examine thoſe Points more ſtrictly, to correct, explain and aſcertain thoſe Miſtakes.

In acknowledgment therefore of the Service done us by thoſe Illuſtrious Adventurers and to make them ſome Sort of Amends for their Sufferings, let us tranſmit their Names to Poſterity in our Writings; let us applaud their Actions when we read them, and let us commend their Relations. This here, moſt certainly deſerves to be read and commended, for it is Curious, Extraordinary and Tragical. It is alſo, as has been ſaid before, ingaging, at this Conjuncture, when there is a Deſign of making Settlements in thoſe Countries, it mentions, the Conſequence whereof may be moſt Honourable and Advantageous to the Nation. The Travel thro' that Country is one of the greateſt and moſt full of Difficulties that has been perform'd; the Relation of it being made by an Eye Witneſs

Witneſs, and in a natural, plain and particular Manner, deſerves to be credited; but being only a Journal, it is not capable of admitting of Ornaments or Embelliſhments. The Reader will be pleas'd to excuſe the Repetition of the ſame Words in it, on Account of the Impoſſibility of doing otherwiſe, and will think it enough that the Barrenneſs of the Narration is made Amends for by the Curioſity of the Subjects. I am of Opinion the ſmall Notes I have added will not be diſpleaſing, becauſe they explain ſome Particulars, which are not very intelligible to ſuch as are not us'd to read many Travels.

After having ſaid the Good and the Bad of this *North America*, mentioning the Beauty and Excellency of its Climate and the Brutality of its People, and recited the infinite Hardſhips, thoſe who deſign to travel muſt reſolve to undergo, I am of Opinion it will be proper to ſay ſomething of the late Monſieur *de la Sale*, who is the principal Perſon, and as it were, the Hero of this Relation, tho' having been murdered by his own Men, he fell the unfortunate Victim of the Diſcovery here treated of. It is alſo convenient to make known what went before that, which is contain'd in this Journal, and the preſent happy Conſequence of that fatal Enterprize.

Here

Here follows what I have of my own particular Knowledge, and by what has been written.

Account of Monſieur de la Sale.

Robert Cavelier, commonly call'd Monſieur *de la Sale*, a Native of *Roan*, of a good Family, having been educated in Piety and Learning, went over very young into *Canada* and took Delight in Trade, but more in Projects of new Diſcoveries up the Inland of thoſe vaſt Countries. Intending to ſettle there and make that his Country, he purchaſed an Habitation in the Iſland of *Mont-real*, where has been built the ſecond Town of *Canada*, ſixty Leagues above *Quebeck*, which is the Capital, being alſo a Biſhoprick, and the Reſidence of the Governor, the Intendant and the ſupreme Council. There are but only thoſe two Towns in the Country, beſides ſome Villages. They are both ſeated on the great River of St. *Laurence*, which coming from the S. W. is form'd or increaſed by the Waters of five prodigious freſh Water Lakes, running out one into another, and through them it paſſes to run down to diſcharge itſelf in the Ocean, at a very ſpacious Mouth, making Way for the Ships that deſign to penetrate into *Canada*.

Many Diſcoveries had been made to the Northward, before Monſieur *de la Sale*'s

Sale's Time; becauſe there being Plenty of very good Furs, the Traders of *Quebeck* and *Mont-real*, by Means of the Adventurers call'd *Wood-Men*, from their traveling thro' the Woods, had penetrated very far up the Country that Way; but none had advanc'd far towards the South or South-Weſt, beyond Fort *Frontenac*, which is on the Lake *Ontario*, the neareſt this Way of the five great Lakes. However, upon the Report of the Natives, it was ſuppoſed, that great and advantageous Diſcoveries might be made. There had been much Talk of the rich Mines of St. *Barbara*, in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, and ſome were tempted to give them a Viſit.

Something was known of the famous River *Miſſiſipi*, which it was ſuppoſed might fall into the South Sea, and open a Way to it. Theſe Conjectures working upon Monſieur *de la Sale*, who being zealous for the Honour of his Nation, deſigned to ſignalize the *French* Name, on Account of extraordinary Diſcoveries, beyond all that went before him; he form'd the Deſign and reſolv'd to put it in Execution. He was certainly very fit for it, and ſucceeded at the Expence of his Life; for no Man has done ſo much in that Way as he did for the Space of twenty

His Character.

twenty Years he ſpent in that Employment. He was a Man of a regular Behaviour, of a large Soul, well enough learned, and understanding in the Mathematicks, deſigning, bold, undaunted, dexterous, inſinuating, not to be diſcourag'd at any Thing, ready at extricating himſelf out of any Difficulties, no Way apprehenſive of the greateſt Fatigues, wonderful ſteady in Adverſity, and what was of extraordinary Uſe, well enough verſed in ſeveral Savage Languages. M. *de la Sale* having ſuch extraordinary Talents, whereof he had given ſufficient Proofs upon ſeveral Occaſions, gain'd the Eſteem of the Governors of *Canada;* and Meſſieurs *de Courcelles*, *Talon* and *de Frontenac* ſucceſſively expreſs'd the ſame, by often employing him in Affairs for the Honour and Advantage of the Colony.

Is made Proprietor of Fort Frontenac.

The Government of the Fort of *Frontenac*, which is the Place fartheſt advanc'd among the Savages, was committed to him, and he going over into *France*, in the Year 1675, the King made him Proprietor of it, upon Condition he ſhould put it into a better Condition than it was, which he did, as ſoon as return'd to *Canada*. Then came back again to *Paris*, full of the new Informations he had gain'd touching the River *Miſſiſipi*, the Country

it

runs through, the Mines, eſpecially thoſe of Lead and Copper, the navigable Rivers, and the Trade that might be carried on of Furs and the fine Wooll of thoſe wild Bullocks, whereof there are infinite Numbers in the Foreſts. Being alſo furniſh'd with better Accounts of that Country, than the Fables that were then publiſh'd, by the Name of a Voyage of the Sieur *Joliet*, he was well receiv'd at Court, and diſpatch'd with the neceſſary Orders for proceeding on his Diſcoveries.

His Reputation makes Enemies.

The great Reputation Monſieur *de la Sale* had gain'd, and his mighty Projects, occaſion'd a Jealouſy in ſome and Envy in others. His own Countrymen thwarted his Deſigns; but he ſurmounted all thoſe Obſtacles and return'd into *Canada*, about the Year 1678, with the Chevalier *Tonty*, an *Italian* Gentleman, a Perſon of Worth and that had ſerv'd, whom he gain'd to his Enterprize. He alſo pick'd up in the Country forty or fifty Perſons fit for that Expedition, and among them were three Recolets, whom he carry'd over to try what might be done as to Chriſtianity among the Savages; he was well acquainted with, and had a juſt Eſteem for the Virtue, the Capacity and the Zeal of thoſe good, religious Men, who

who alone firſt undertook the Miſſion into that new World, and who being ſeconded by others, have carry'd it on there, with ſo much Edification.

Monſieur *de la Sale* having ſpent two Years in going and coming, ſtill thwarted by thoſe who envy'd him in the Country, to ſuch a Degree, that had it not been for an Antidote, he muſt have dy'd of Poiſon given him by ſome Villains, could not order his Affairs and begin his Expedition till the Year 1682. He ſet ont at length, and to the End his Diſcovery of the *Miſſiſipi* might be compleat, he caus'd Father *Hennepin*, a Recolet, with ſome others, to travel to the Northward, that they might find out the Source of that River, and they found it, about the 50th Degree of North Latitude. For his own Part, he proceeded to the Weſtward and found the River of the *Iſlinois*, which he call'd the River of *Seignelay*, and following its Courſe, came into the *Miſſiſipi*, where the other diſcharges it ſelf. He then concluded he had no more to do, but to run down to its Mouth, whether in the South Sea or the Gulph of *Mexico*. All along its Banks he found many Savage Nations, with whom, by Means of his Preſents, he enter'd into Alliances, and gave the Country

Source of the Miſſiſipi.

Iſlinois *River.*

Country the Name of *Louiſiana*, to honour the Name and Memory of our Auguſt Monarch, in whoſe Reign thoſe Diſcoveries were made. At length, the Courſe of the *Miſſiſipi* convey'd Monſieur *de la Sale* to its Mouths, as falling into the Gulph of *Mexico* in two Streams, and he arriv'd there in the Month of *April* 1682 or 1683, for the Dates of thoſe who have writ concerning it, make either of thoſe Years. He ſtay'd there ſome Days, to take Obſervations and place ſome Marks which he might know again, when he return'd. Being ſatiſfied with having found ſome Part of what he ſought, he return'd the ſame Way he had gone, and came again to *Quebeck* in *Canada*, in order to go over to *France*, and thence to make a Tryal to find that Mouth of the *Miſſiſipi* by the Gulf of *Mexico*, which he had already diſcover'd by the Way of *Canada*, and to ſecure it; for he thought it much more advantageous to know it by the Way of the Sea, than to go thither by Land, becauſe the Voyage through *Canada* is much longer and more troubleſome, and can be perform'd but once a Year, whereas by the Way of the Bay of *Mexico* it is not longer, but is much more commodious, and may be perform'd in

in all Seaſons, either going or coming. He was alſo ſenſible that the ſaid Mouth being once diſcover'd by Sea, afforded an eaſier and ſafer Communication with *Canada*, running up that noble River, the Navigation whereof is not interrupted by Falls, nor Torrents for above ſixty Leagues towards its Source.

Theſe Conſiderations mov'd Monſieur *de la Sale* to take another Voyage into *France*, where his Expedition having been commended and his new Project approv'd of, the King order'd him Veſſels to return and carry on his Enterprize, the Particulars whereof are to be found in this Journal. That Affair, ſo well begun, ſeem'd to promiſe very advantageous Conſequences; but it miſcarried through the Perfidiouſneſs and Villany of that noble Adventurer's own People.

This is what I have judg'd might ſerve as an Introduction to your Journal, if it ſhall not be thought to diſhonour it, you may place it before the ſaid Journal, and that which follows at the End of it, which will ſhew how far that great Enterprize of the Diſcovery of the *Miſſiſipi* has been carried.

The other Part here mention'd is at the End of the Journal.

THE

THE

PREFACE.

Written by the

Sieur *de MITCHEL,*

Who Methodiz'd this Journal.

NOtwithſtanding *the late Monſieur* de la Sale's *Voyage had a moſt unfortunate End, as to his own Perſon, yet that will not hinder Poſterity, from ever allowing him the Title of a moſt renowned Traveller.*

The Hiſtory of his Enterprize will be acceptable to future Ages, for laying before them, the extraordinary Genius, the invincible Courage, and the undaunted Reſolution of ſuch a Man, who could contrive and execute

execute the Means for diſcovering the remaining Part of the World.

And in regard that the Particulars of the Diſcovery of thoſe large and immenſe Provinces, will always be the Object of curious and underſtanding Perſons, it is not to be wonder'd, that after what has been writ by Father Hennepin, *a Recolet, the Chevalier* Tonty *and ſome others, we here now publiſh an Hiſtorical Journal of the laſt Voyage Monſieur* de la Sale *undertook into the Gulf of* Mexico, *to the Country of* Louiſiana, *to finiſh what he had projected at his former Voyage, had not the Treachery of his own Men cut him off.*

This Journal of Monſieur Joutel, *whereof Monſieur* Tonty *makes mention in the Book that has been printed of the laſt Diſcoveries in* America, *Folio* 319, *has this peculiar, that it exactly contains what hapned to Monſieur* de la Sale, *Day by Day, in that fatal Voyage, ſince his Departure from* Rochelle *to his death, and till the Return of his Brother Monſieur* Cavelier *the Prieſt, Monſieur* Cavelier *his Nephew, the Reverend Father* Anaſtaſius, *the Recolet, and the ſaid Sieur* Joutel, *who in Order to return to* France, *took that long Journey by Land, from the Gulf of* Mexico *to* Canada, *being a Tract of above* 800 *Leagues.*

Many

Many Adventures of all Sorts, moſt of which are Tragical, will pleaſe the curious Reader; and above all he will admire the Protection of Divine Providence, in Conducting and Preſerving that ſmall Company throughout thoſe vaſt Regions, and among ſo many barbarous Nations.

We do not here pretend to Criticiſe upon the Work of Father Hennepin, *or that of Monſieur* Tonty; *but even their own Favourers cannot take it ill, that this Author does not ſometimes ſay as they do; that he plainly delivers what he ſaw, and that he expoſes to publick View all the Truths he was an Eye Witneſs to, without magnifying or inventing.*

It is nevertheleſs true, that they may be all excus'd as to ſome Particulars; Father Hennepin *and Monſieur* Tonty *may have ſeen ſome Things, that did not come to the Knowledge of Monſieur* Joutel; *but there is a Fact of great Conſequence in the Hiſtory of Monſieur* de la Sale, *which muſt not be paſs'd over in Silence.*

It is, that Monſieur Tonty, *in his Book affirms, that Monſieur* de la Sale *at length found the Mouth of the* Miſſiſipi, *and Monſieur* Joutel *aſſerts the contrary, and ſays, that is ſo far from being true, that during his laſt Progreſs towards the* Cenis, *when the ſaid Sieur* Joutel *was with him, and had*

had never been parted, Monſieur de la Sale's *principal Care was to enquire of all the Nations they paſs'd through, where the* Miſſiſipi *was, and could never hear any thing of it; that this is evidently made out, becauſe if Monſieur* de la Sale *had found the Mouth of that River, he would infallibly have taken another Way, and other Meaſures, and all the Appearances are on this Side, as may be ſeen in this Relation.*

However, this muſt be ſaid in Behalf of Monſieur Tonty, *that he deliver'd it upon the Report of Monſieur* Cavelier *the Prieſt, and Brother to Monſieur* de la Sale; *which Monſieur* Cavelier *might have Reaſons to give out they had diſcover'd the* Miſſiſipi, *upon the ſame Views as oblig'd him to conceal his Brother's Death.*

Now in regard we ſhall ſee Monſieur de la Sale, *for ſome time ranging along the Coaſts of* North America, *to find out the Mouth of that River, it will be proper to inform thoſe who have not ſeen his firſt Voyage, and ſhew them how it hapned that his Search prov'd in vain, and he was oblig'd to land in another Place.*

After Monſieur de la Sale *had diſcover'd that vaſt Continent, which is a Part of* North America, *from* Canada, *by the Way of* Montreal, *going up the River of St.* Laurence, *then through the Country of the* Iroquois,

Iroquois, *the* Iſlinois *and others, all which he call'd* Louiſiana, *his Deſign was to find a ſhorter and a ſafer Way, than that he had Travell'd by Land.*

For this Reaſon it was, that having upon his firſt Diſcovery found the great River, call'd by the Barbarians Miſſiſipi *or* Mechaſipi, *according to Father* Hennepin, *and to which he gave the Name of* Colbert, *gueſſing by its Courſe that it fell into the Bay of* Mexico, *he reſolv'd with himſelf to find out the Mouth of it.*

In ſhort, he ran down that River, with more Danger and Toil than can be imagin'd, found it parted into two Streams and follow'd that which was moſt to the Northward, to the Place where it is loſt in the Sea. He took the Latitude that Mouth lay in, and found it was between 28 *and* 29 *Degrees North, as Monſieur* Joutel *affirms he heard him ſay. He left Marks there, return'd the ſame Way to* Canada *and thence into* France, *well pleaſed with his Diſcovery, which would have been very glorious, had he ſucceeded in his ſecond Voyage.*

But whether he did not take his Meaſures right, when he made his Obſervations aſhore, or whether that River diſgorges it ſelf at a flat Coaſt, and only leaves ſome inconſiderable Mark of its Channel for ſuch as come by Sea; it is moſt certain, that when he came

came into the Bay of Mexico, *he ſought for the ſame Mouth in Vain, during the Space of three Weeks, and was oblig'd to go aſhore to the S. W. of the Place, where it really was.*

Monſieur Tonty, *in his Book, Fol.* 192. *tells us, that he was present when Monſieur* de la Sale *took the Latitude of the Mouth of the* Miſſiſipi, *at his firſt Voyage, and ſays it was between twenty two and twenty three Degrees North; but that is a Miſtake, which muſt be aſſigned either to the Printer, or Tranſcriber, for in the Map the ſaid Monſieur* Tonty *has added to his Book, he places the ſaid Mouth in about twenty ſix Degrees and a Half of North Latitude, and there is Reaſon to believe he errs in that too.*

Monſieur Joutel *and ſome others are of Opinion, that the Mouth of that Branch Monſieur* de la Sale *went down, is in the Bay of the* Holy Ghoſt, *and actually between the twenty eighth and twenty ninth Degrees of North Latitude, as Monſieur* de la Sale *found it. As for the other Channel, the ſame Sieur* Joutel *believes it is farther towards the S. W. and about the Shoals they met with about the 6th of* January, 1685, *between the twenty ſeventh and twenty eighth Degrees of North Latitude, when they were ſailing*

ſailing along the Coaſt of the Bay of Mexico, *and that thoſe Shoals were the Marks of a River diſcharging it ſelf there, which they neglected to inquire into. If that be ſo, Monſieur* de la Sale *was very near it, and even paſs'd along before both the Mouths, but unfortunately, without perceiving them, which was the main Cauſe of his Death and the Ruin of his Enterprize.*

To conclude, it muſt be granted, that as the Return of that ſmall Number of Perſons, from a Country ſo remote and through ſo many Dangers, is a viſible Effect of the Divine Protection; ſo it is alſo an Effect of Heavenly Juſtice to have preſerv'd thoſe Witneſſes, and to have brought them Home into Monſiuer de la Sale's *Country, to retrieve his Reputation, which had been ſully'd by his Enemies.*

Monſieur de la Sale *would have been taken for a Dreamer, and even for an Impoſtor; his Enterprize had been condemn'd, and his Memory blaſted; but God would not permit the Honour of a Man of ſuch ſingular Merit to ſuffer; it pleas'd him to preſerve and bring Home unqueſtionable Witneſſes, who, by Word of Mouth and other undoubted Proofs of the notable Diſcoveries made by Monſieur* de la Sale, *have ſtopp'd the*

the Mouths of his Enemies, and made out the Truth of what has been aſſerted at the Beginning of this Diſcourſe, viz. *that Monſieur* de la Sale *only wanted good Fortune to ſecure him the Title of a great Man and a renowned Traveller.*

Advertiſement, *to the Britiſh Gentry.*

WHereas all Gentlemen ought to fit themſelves betimes for thoſe Employments which naturally fall to their Share, preferable to their Fellow Subjects; and that they who deſign in particular to ſerve their Prince Abroad, are obliged to underſtand the Intereſts and Pretentions of Foreign States, as well as the Laws and Conſtitution of their own Country: It has been judg'd very ſerviceable, by Perſons of great Experience, to have the moſt celebrated Monſieur Wicquefort's Ambaſſador tranſlated into the Engliſh Tongue, as being the only Book that perfectly exhauſts this Matter, little being written on the Subject by other Nations in Compariſon of the Italians, whoſe Books are too defective and abſtracted for common Practice. Propoſals will ſhortly be publiſhed, for printing the ſaid Book by Subſcription, by the Undertaker Bernard Lintott between the two Temple-Gates

The Tragedy of Jane Shore, written in Shakeſpear's Style, by Nicholas Row Eſq; as it is acted at the Queen's Theatre in the Hay-Market. pr. 1 s. 6 d.

The Rape of the Lock, an heroick comical Poem, in 5 Canto's, with 6 Copper Plates, by Mr. Pope. pr. 1 s.

The Works of Monſieur de Moliere, tranſlated, in 6 Vols. 12s. printed on fine Paper and new Elziver Letter.

The Clergy-man's Recreation, ſhewing the Pleaſure and Profit of the Art of Gard'ning. By John Lawrence. A. M. Rector of Yelvertoſt in Northamptonſhire, and ſometime Fellow of Clare-Hall in Cambridge.

Miſcellaneous Poems and Tranſlations by ſeveral Hands, particularly, the firſt Book of Statius his Thebais tranſlated. The Fable of Vertumnus and Pomoua, from the 14th Book of Ovid's Metamorphoſis. To a young Lady; with the Works of Voiture. On Silence. To the Author of a Poem entituled Succeſſio. The Rape of the Lock. An Ode for Muſick on St. Cecilia's Day. Windſor Foreſt. To the Right *H*onourable George Ld. Lanſdown. An Eſſay on Criticiſm. An Epigram upon Two or Three. All written by Mr. Pope.

AN

HISTORICAL JOURNAL

OF THE

Late Monſieur *de la Sale*'s

LAST

VOYAGE

INTO

North America,

To Diſcover the

River *MISSISIPI.*

AT the Time when Monſieur *de la Sale* was preparing for his laſt Voyage into *North America*, I happen'd to be at *Roan*, the Place where he and I were both born, being return'd from the Army, where I had ſerv'd ſixteen or ſeventeen Years.

It is Mr. Joutel *that ſpeaks in this Journal.*

The Reputation gain'd by Monſieur *de la Sale*, the Greatneſs of his Undertaking, the Natural Curioſity

July 1684 Curioſity which all men are poſſeſs'd with, and my Acquaintance with his Kindred, and with ſeveral of the Inhabitants of that City, who were to bear him Company, eaſily prevail'd with me to make one of the Number, and I was admitted as a Voluntier.

Our Rendezvous was appointed at *Rochel*, where we were to imbark. Meſſieurs *Cavelier*, the one Brother, the other Nephew to Monſieur *de la Sale*, Meſſieurs *Chedeville*, *Planteroze*, *Thibault*, *Ory*, ſome others and I, repair'd thither in *July* 1684.

Departure from Rochel. Monſieur *de la Sale* having provided all Things neceſſary for his Voyage, ſurmounted all the Difficulties laid in his Way by ſeveral ill-minded Perſons, and receiv'd his Orders from Monſieur *Arnoult*, the Intendant at *Rochel*, purſuant to thoſe he had receiv'd from the King, we ſail'd on the 24th of *July*, 1684, being twenty four Veſſels, four of them for our Voyage, and the others for the Iſlands and *Canada*.

Perſons that went. The four Veſſels appointed for Monſieur *de la Sale*'s Enterprize, had on Board about two hundred and eighty perſons, including the Crews; of which Number there were one hundred Soldiers, with their Officers, one *Talon*, with his *Canada* Family, about thirty Voluntiers, ſome young Women, and the reſt hired People and Workmen of all Sorts, requiſite for making of a Settlement.

Ships. The firſt of the four Veſſels was a Man of War, call'd *le Joly*, of about thirty ſix or forty Guns, commanded by Monſieur *de Beaujeu*, on which Monſieur *de la Sale*, his Brother the Prieſt, two Recolet Fryars, Meſſieurs *Dainmaville*

maville and *Chedeville*, Prieſts, and I imbark'd. *July* 1684
The next was a little Frigate, carrying ſix Guns, which the King had given to Monſieur *de la Sale*, commanded by two Maſters; a Flyboat of about three hundred Tuns Burden, belonging to the Sieur *Maſſiot*, Merchant at *Rochel*, commanded by the Sieur *Aigron*, and laden with all the Effects Monſieur *de la Sale* had thought neceſſary for his Settlement, and a ſmall Ketch, on which Monſieur *de la Sale* had imbark'd thirty Tuns of Ammunition, and ſome Commodities deſign'd for *Santo Domingo*.

All the Fleet, being under the Command of Monſieur *de Beaujeu*, was order'd to keep together as far as *Cape Finiſterre*, whence each was to follow his own Courſe; but this was prevented by an unexpected Accident. We were come into 45 Degrees 23 Minutes of North Latitude, and about 50 Leagues from *Rochel*, when the Boltſprit of our Ship, the *Joly*, on a ſudden, broke ſhort, which oblig'd us to ſtrike all our other Sails, and cut all the Rigging the broken Boltſprit hung by. *Boltſprit loſt.*

Every man reflected on this Accident according to his Inclination. Some were of Opinion it was a Contrivance; and it was debated in Council, Whether we ſhould proceed to *Portugal*, or return to *Rochel*, or *Rochfort*; but the latter Reſolution prevail'd. The other Ships deſign'd for the Iſlands and *Canada*, parted from us, and held on their Courſe. We made back for the River of *Rochfort*, whither the other three Veſſels follow'd us, and a Boat was ſent in, to acquaint the Intendant with this Accident. The Boat returned ſome Hours after, towing along a Boltſprit, which was ſoon ſet in its *Return to* Rochfort.

Aug. 1684 its Place, and after Monſieur *de la Sale* had confer'd with the Intendant, he left that Place on the firſt of *Auguſt*, 1684.

Cape Finiſterre. We ſail'd again, ſteering W. and by S. and on the 8th of the ſame Month weather'd *Cape Finiſterre*, which is in 43 Degrees of North Latitude, without meeting any Thing remarkable. The 12th, we were in the Latitude of *Lisbon*, or about 39 Degrees North. The 16th, we were in 36 Degrees, the Latitude of the *Streights*, and the 20th, diſcover'd the Iſland *Madera*, which is in 32 Degrees, and where Monſieur *de Beaujeu* propos'd to Monsieur *de la Sale* to anchor, and take in Water and ſome Refreſhments.

Madera.

Difference between the Commanders. Monſieur *de la Sale* was not of that Mind, on Account that we had been but twenty one Days from *France*, had ſufficient Store of Water, ought to have taken aboard Refreſhments enough, and it would be a Loſs of eight or ten Days to no Purpoſe; besides, that our Enterprize requir'd Secrecy, whereas the *Spaniards* might get ſome Information, by Means of the People of that Iſland, which was not agreeable to the King's Intention.

This Anſwer was not acceptable to Monſieur *de Beaujeu*, or the other Officers, nor even to the Ships Crew, who mutter'd at it very much, and it went ſo far, that a Paſſenger, call'd *Paget*, a *Hugonet* of *Rochel*, had the Inſolence to talk to Monſieur *de la Sale* in a very paſſionate and diſreſpectful Manner, ſo that he was fain to make his Complaint to Monſieur *de Beaujeu*, and to ask of him, Whether he had given any Incouragement to ſuch a Fellow to talk to him after that Manner. Monſieur *Beaujeu* made

made him no Satisfaction. Theſe Miſunderſtandings, with ſome others which happen'd before, being no Way advantageous to his Majeſty's Service, laid the Foundation of thoſe tragical Events, which afterwards put an unhappy End to Monſieur *de la Sale*'s Life and Undertaking, and occaſion'd our Ruin. *Aug.* 1684

However, it was reſolv'd not to come to an Anchor at that Iſland, whereupon Monſieur *de Beaujeu* ſaid, That ſince it was ſo, we ſhould put in no where but at the Iſland of *Santo Domingo*. We held on our Courſe, weather'd the Iſland of *Madera*, and began to ſee thoſe little flying Fiſhes, which to eſcape the *Dorados*, or Gilt-Heads, that purſue them, leap out of the Water, take a little Flight of about a Piſtol Shot, and then fall again into the Sea, but very often into Ships, as they are ſailing by. That Fiſh is about as big as a Herring, and very good to eat. *Flying Fiſh.*

On the 24th, we came into the Trade Wind, which continually blows from Eaſt to Weſt, and is therefore call'd by ſome Authors *Ventus ſubſolanus*, becauſe it follows the Motion of the Sun. The 28th, we were in 27 Degrees 44 Minutes of North Latitude, and in 344 of Longitude. The 30th, we had a Storm, which continu'd violent for two Days, but being right aſtern of us, we only loſt Sight of the Ketch, for want of good Steering, but ſhe join'd us again a few Days after. *Trade Wind.*

The 6th of *September*, we were under the Tropic of *Cancer*, in 23 Degrees 30 Minutes of North Latitude and 319 of Longitude. There Monſ. *de la Sale*'s Obſtructing the Ceremony the Sailors call Ducking, gave them Occaſion to mutter again, and render'd himſelf privately odious. So many *Ducking.*

Sept. 1684 many have given an Account of the Nature of that Folly, that it would be needleſs to repeat it here; it may ſuffice to ſay, that there are three things to authorize it, 1. Cuſtom. 2. The Oath adminiſter'd to thoſe who are duck'd, which is to this Effect, *That they will not permit any to paſs the Tropics or the Line, without obliging them to the ſame Ceremony.* And 3, which is the moſt prevailing Argument, the Intereſt accruing to the Sailors upon that Occaſion, by the Refreſhments, Liquors or Money given them by the Paſſengers to be excus'd from that Ceremony.

Monſr. *de la Sale*, being inform'd that all Things were preparing for that Impertinent Ceremony of Ducking, and that a Tub full of Water was ready on the Deck (*the French Duck in a great Cask of Water, the Engliſh in the Sea, letting down the Perſon at the Yard Arm*) ſent Word, that he would not allow ſuch as were under his Command to be subject to that Folly, which being told to Monſr. *de Beaujeu*, he forbid putting of it in Execution, to the great Diſſatisfaction of the inferior Officers and Sailors, who expected a conſiderable Sum of Money and Quantity of Refreſhments, or Liquors, becauſe there were many Perſons to Duck, and all the Blame was laid upon Monſr. *de la Sale.*

Hiſpaniola *Iſland.*

On the 11th of *September*, we were in the Latitude of the Iſland of *Santo Domingo*, or *Hiſpaniola*, being 20 Degrees North, and the Longitude of 320 Degrees. We ſteer'd our Courſe Weſt, but the Wind flatting, the enſuing Calm quite ſtopp'd our Way. That ſame Day Monſr. *Dainmaville*, the Prieſt, went aboard the Bark *la Belle*, to adminiſter the Sacraments to a Gunner, who died a few Days after. Monſr: *de la Sale*

Sale went to ſee him, and I bore him Company. *Sept.* 1684

The 21ſt, the Ketch, which we had before loſt Sight of, join'd us again; and ſome Complaints being made to Monſr. *de la Sale*, by ſeveral private Perſons that were aboard the Flyboat, he order'd me to go thither to accomodate thoſe Differences, which were occaſion'd only by ſome Jealouſies among them.

The 16th, we ſail'd by the Iſland *Sombrero*, and the 18th had hard blowing Weather, which made us apprehenſive of a Hurracan. The foul Weather laſted two Days, during which Time, we kept under a main Courſe and loſt Sight of the other Veſſels. Sombrero *Iſland.*

A Council was call'd aboard our Ship, the *Joly*, to conſider whether we ſhould lie by for the others, or hold on our Courſe, and it was reſolv'd, that, conſidering our Water began to fall ſhort, and there were above five Perſons ſick aboard, of which Number Monſr. *de la Sale* and the Surgeon were, we ſhould make all the Sail we could, to reach the firſt Port of the Iſland *Hiſpaniola*, being that call'd *Port de Paix*, or Port Peace, which Reſolution was accordingly regiſter'd.

The 20th, we diſcover'd the firſt Land of *Hiſpaniola*, being Cape *Samana*, lying in 19 Degrees of North Latitude, and of Longitude 308. The 25th we ſhould have put into *Port de Paix*, as had been concerted, and it was not only the moſt convenient Place for us to get Refreſhments, but alſo the Reſidence of Monſr. *de Cuſſy*, Governor of the Iſland *Tortuga*, who knew that Monſr. *de la Sale* carried particular Orders for him to furniſh ſuch Neceſſaries as he ſtood in Need of. *Cape* Samana.

Not-

Sept. 1684

Tortuga *Iſland.*

Notwithſtanding theſe cogent Reaſons, Mr. *de Beaujeu* was poſitive to paſs further on in the Night, weathering the Iſland *Tortuga*, which is ſome Leagues diſtant from *Port de Paix* and the Coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*. He alſo paſs'd Cape St. *Nicolas*, and the 26th of the ſaid Month, we put into the Bay of *Jaguana*, coaſting the Iſland *Guanabo*, which is in the Middle of that great Bay or Gulph, and in Concluſion, on the 27th we arriv'd at *Petit Gouave*, having ſpent 58 Days in our Paſſage from the Port of *Chef de Bois*, near *Rochel*.

This Change of the Place for our little Squadron to put into, for which no Reaſon could be given, prov'd very diſadvantageous; and it will hereafter appear, as I have before obſerv'd, that thoſe miſunderſtanding among the Officers inſenſibly drew on the Cauſes from whence our Misfortune proceeded.

As ſoon as we had dropt Anchor, a *Piragua*, or great Sort of *Canoe*, came out from the Place, with Twenty Men, to know who we were, and hail'd us. Being inform'd that we were *French*, they acquainted us, that Monſieur *de Cuſſy* was at *Port de Paix* with the Marquis *de St. Laurent*, Lieutenant General of the *American* Iſlands, and Monſieur *Begon* the Intendant, which very much troubled Monſieur *de la Sale*, as having Affairs of the utmoſt Conſequence to concert with them; but there was no Remedy, and he was oblig'd to bear it with Patience.

The next Day, being the 28th. we ſang *Te Deum*, in Thankſgiving for our proſperous Paſſage. Monſieur *de la Sale* being ſomewhat recover'd of his Indiſpoſition, went Aſhore with ſeveral of the Gentlemen of his Retinue, to buy ſome

ſome Refreſhments for the Sick, and to find Means to ſend Notice of his Arrival, to Meſſieurs *de St. Laurent*, *de Cuſſy* and *Begon*, and ſignify to them, how much he was concern'd that we had not put into *Port de Paix*. He writ particularly to Monſieur *de Cuſſy*, to deſire he would come to him, if poſſible, that he might be aſſiſting to him, and take the neceſſary Meaſures for rendring his Enterprize ſucceſsful, that it might prove to the King's Honour and Service. Oct. 1684.

In the mean Time, the Sick ſuffering very much Aboard the Ships, by Reaſon of the Heat, and their being too cloſe together, the Soldiers were put Aſhore, on a little Iſland, near *Petit Gouaves*, which is the uſual Burial-Place of the People of the pretended Reformed Religion, where they had freſh Provisions, and Bread baked on Purpoſe, diſtributed to them. As for the Sick, I was order'd by Monſieur *de la Sale*, to provide a Houſe for them, whither they were carry'd, with the Surgeons, and ſupply'd with all that was requiſite for them.

Some Days after, Monſieur *de la Sale* fell dangerouſly ill, moſt of his Family were alſo ſick. A violent Fever, attended with Lightheadedneſs, brought him almoſt to Extremity. The Poſture of his Affairs, Want of Money, and the Weight of a mighty Enterprize, without knowing whom to truſt with the Execution of it, made him ſtill more Sick in Mind, than he was in his Body, and yet his Patience and Reſolution ſurmounted all thoſe Difficulties. He pitch'd upon Monſieur *le Gros* and me to act for him, caus'd ſome Commodities he had Aboard the Ships to be ſold, to raiſe Money; and through our

Nov. 1684 our Care, and the excellent Conſtitution of his Body, he recover'd Health.

Ketch taken by the Spaniards.

Whilſt he was in that Condition, two of our Ships, which had been ſeparated from us on the 18th of *September*, by the ſtormy Winds, arriv'd at *Petit Gouave* on the 2d of *October*. The Joy conceiv'd on Account of their Arrival, was much allay'd by the News they brought of the Loſs of the Ketch, taken by two *Spaniſh Piraguas*; and that Loſs was the more grievous, becauſe that Veſſel was laden with Proviſions, Ammunition, Utenſils and proper Tools for the ſetling of our new Colonies; a Misfortune which would not have happen'd, had Monſieur *de Beaujeu* put into *Port de Paix*, and Meſſieurs *de St. Laurent*, *de Cuſſy*, and *Begon* who arrived at the ſame Time, to ſee Monſieur *de la Sale* did not ſpare to ſignify as much to him, and to complain of that Miſcarriage.

Monſieur *de la Sale* being recover'd, had ſeveral Conferences with theſe Gentlemen, relating to his Voyage. A Conſult of Pilots was called to reſolve where we ſhould touch before we came upon the Coaſt of *America*, and it was reſolved to ſteer directly for the Western Point of the Iſland of *Cuba*, or for *Cape* St. *Antony*, diſtant about 300 Leagues from *Hiſpaniola*, there to expect the proper Seaſon, and a fair Wind to enter the Gulph or Bay, which is but Two hundred Leagues over.

The next Care was to lay in Store of other Proviſions, in the Room of thoſe which were loſt, and Monſieur *de la Sale* was the more preſſing for us to imbark, because moſt of his Men deſerted, or were debauch'd by the Inhabitants of the Place; and the Veſſel call'd *l'Aimable*, being

being the worſt Sailer of our little Squadron, it was reſolv'd that ſhould carry the Light, and the others to follow it. Monſieur *de la Sale*, Monſieur *Cavelier* his Brother, the Fathers *Zenobrius* and *Anaſtaſius*, both Recolets, Monſieur *Chedeville* and I imbark'd on the ſaid *Aimable* and all ſail'd the 25th of *November*. *Dec.* 1684

We met with ſome Calms, and ſome violent Winds, which nevertheleſs carry'd us in Sight of the Iſland of *Cuba*, on the 30th of the ſame Month, and it then bore from us *N. W.* There we alter'd our Courſe and ſteer'd *W.* and by *N.* The 31ſt, the Weather being ſomewhat cloſe, we loſt Sight of that Iſland, then ſtood *W. N. W.* and the Sky clearing up, made an Obſervation at Noon, and found we were in 19 Degrees, 45 Minutes of North Latitude; by which we judg'd that the Currents had carry'd us off to Sea from the Iſland of *Cuba*.

On the firſt of *December* we diſcover'd the Iſland *Cayman*. The 2d we ſteer'd *N. W.* and by *W.* in order to come up with the Iſland of *Cuba* in the Northern Latitude of 20 Degrees 32 Minutes. The 3d we diſcover'd the little Iſland of *Pines*, lying cloſe to *Cuba*. The 4th, we weather'd a Point of that Iſland, and the Wind growing ſcant, were forc'd to ply upon a Bowling, and make ſeveral Trips till the 5th at Night, when we anchor'd in a Creek, in 15 Fathom Water, and continued there till the 8th. Cayman *Iſland.* *Iſland of* Pines.

During that ſhort Stay, Monſieur *de la Sale* went Aſhore with ſeveral Gentlemen of his Retinue on the Iſland of *Pines*, ſhot an Alligator dead, and returning Aboard, perceiv'd he had loſt two of his Voluntiers, who had wander'd into

Dec. 1684 into the Woods, and perhaps loſt their Way. We fired ſeveral Muſquet Shots to call them, which they did not hear, and I was order'd to expect them aſhore, with 30 Muſquetiers to attend me. They return'd the next Morning with much Trouble.

Alligator eaten. In the mean Time, our Soldiers, who had good Stomachs, boil'd and eat the Alligator, Monſieur *de la Sale* had kill'd. The Fleſh of it was white and had a Taſte of Musk, for which Reaſon I could not eat it. One of our Hunters kill'd a wild Swine, which the Inhabitants of thoſe Iſlands call *Maron*. There are of them in the Iſland of *Santo Domingo*, or *Hiſpaniola*, they are of the Breed of thoſe the *Spaniards* left in the Iſlands when they firſt diſcover'd them, and run wild in the Woods. I ſent it to Monſieur *de la Sale*, who preſented the one Half to Monſieur *de Beaujeu*.

Wild Swine

Iſland of Pines. That Iſland is all over very thick wooded, the Trees being of ſeveral Sorts, and ſome of them bear a Fruit reſembling the Acorn, but harder. There are Abundance of Parrots, larger than thoſe at *Petit Gouave*, a great Number of Turtle Doves and other Birds, and a Sort of Creatures reſembling a Rat, but as big as a Cat, their Hair reddiſh. Our Men kill'd many of them and fed heartily on them, as they did on a good Quantity of Fiſh, wherewith that Coaſt abounds.

We imbark'd again, as ſoon as the two Men who had ſtray'd were return'd, and on the 8th; being the Feaſt of the *Conception* of the Bleſſed Virgin, ſail'd in the Morning, after having heard Maſs, and the Wind ſhifting were forc'd to ſteer ſeveral Courſes. The 9th we diſcover'd Cape

Cape *Corrientes*, of the Iſland of *Cuba*; where we were firſt becalm'd; and then follow'd a ſtormy Wind, which carried us away five Leagues to the Eaſtward. The 10th we ſpent the Night, making ſeveral Trips. The 11th, the Wind coming about, we weather'd Cape *Corrientes*, to make that of St. *Antony*; and at length, after plying a conſiderable Time, and ſounding, we came to an Anchor the 12th, upon good Ground, in fifteen Fathom Water, in the Creek form'd by that Cape, which is in 22 Degrees of North Latitude and 288 Degrees 35 Minutes of Longitude.

Dec. 1684

The Capes Corrientes *and St.* Antony.

We ſtay'd there only till next Day, being the 13th, when the Wind ſeem'd to be favourable to enter upon the Bay of *Mexico*. We made ready and ſail'd, ſteering *N. W.* and by *N.* and *N. N. W.* to weather the ſaid Cape and proſecute our Voyage: But by that Time we were five Leagues from the Place of our Departure, we perceiv'd the Wind ſhifted upon us, and not knowing which Way the Currents ſate, we ſtood *E.* and by *N.* and held that Courſe till the 14th, when Monſieur *de Beaujeu*, who was aboard the *Joly*, join'd us again, and having confer'd with Monſieur *de la Sale* about the Wind's being contrary, propoſed to him to return to Cape St. *Antony*, to which Monſieur *de la Sale* conſented, to avoid giving him any Cauſe to complain, tho' there was no great Occaſion for ſo doing, and accordingly we went and anchor'd in the Place from whence we came.

The next Day, being the 15th, Monſieur *de la Sale* ſent ſome Men aſhore, to try whether we could fill ſome Casks with Water. They brought Word, they had found ſome in the Wood,

Dec. 1684 Wood, which was not much amiſs, but that there was no Conveniency for rowling of the Casks; for which Reaſon Rundlets were ſent, and as much Water brought in them, as fill'd ſix or ſeven of our Water Casks.

The ſame Men reported, that they had found a glaſs Bottle, and in it a little Wine, or ſome other Liquor, almoſt dead. This was all the Proviſion we found in that Place, by which it appears, how much Monſieur *Tonti* was miſinform'd, ſince in his Book, *Pag.* 242, he ſays, we found in that Iſland ſeveral Tun of *Spaniſh* Wine, good Brandy and *Indian* Wheat, which the *Spaniards* had left or abandon'd; and it is a meer Invention without any Thing of Truth.

Miſtake in Monſieur Tonti's *Account of this Voyage.*

The 16th, the Weather being ſtill Calm, the Men went aſhore again for five or ſix more Casks of Water. I was to have gone with them, had not an Indiſpoſition, which I firſt felt in the Iſland of *Pines*, and afterwards turn'd to a tertian Ague, prevented me. Therefore I can give no Account of that Iſland, any further than what I could ſee from the Ships, which was Abundance of that Sort of Palm-Trees, in French call'd *Lataniers*, fit for nothing but making of Brooms, or ſcarce any other Uſe. That day we ſaw ſome Smoaks, far within the Iſland, and gueſs'd they might be a Signal of the Number of our Ships, or elſe made by ſome of the Country Hunters, who had loſt their Way.

The next Night preceding the 17th, the Wind freſhning from the *N. W.* and ſtarting up all on a ſudden, drove the Veſſel call'd *la Belle* upon her Anchor, ſo that ſhe came foul of the Boltſprit of the *Aimable*, carrying away the Sprit-

Spritſail-Yard and the Spritſail-Top-Sail-Yard, and had not they immediately veer'd out the Cable of the *Aimable*, the Veſſel *la Belle* would have been in danger of periſhing, but eſcap'd with the Loſs of her Mizen, which came by the Board, and of about a hundred Fathoms of Cable and an Anchor. *Dec.* 1684

The 18th, the Wind being freſh, we made ready, and ſail'd about Ten in the Morning, ſtanding *North* and *N.* and by *W.* and held our Courſe till Noon; the Point of Cape St. *Anthony* bearing *Eaſt* and *Weſt* with us, and ſo continu'd ſteering *North-Weſt*, till the 19th at Noon, when we found our ſelves in the Latitude of 22 Degrees 58 minutes *North*, and in 287 Degrees 54 Minutes Longitude.

Finding the Wind ſhifting from one Side to another, we directed our Courſe ſeveral Ways, but that which prov'd advantageous to us, was the fair Weather, and that was a great Help, ſo that ſcarce a Day paſs'd without taking an Obſervation.

The 20th, we found the Variation of the Needle was 5 Degrees *Weſt*, and we were in 26 Degrees 40 Minutes of North Latitude and 285 Degrees 16 Minutes Longitude. The 23th it grew very cloudy, which threaten'd ſtormy Weather, and we prepar'd to receive it, but came off only with the Apprehenſion, the Clouds diſperſing ſeveral Ways, and we continu'd till the 27th in and about 28 Degrees 14 Minutes, and both by the Latitude and Eſtimation it was judg'd, that we were not far from Land.

The Bark call'd *la Belle* was ſent out to diſcover and keep before, ſounding all the Way; and half an Hour before Sun-ſet, we ſaw the Veſſel

Dec. 1684 Veſſel *la Belle* put out her Colours and lie by for us. Being come up with her, the Maſter told us, he had found an Owzy Bottom at thirty two Fathom Water. At eight of the Clock we ſounded alſo, and found forty Fathom, and at ten, but twenty five. About Midnight, *la Belle* ſounding again, found only ſeventeen, which being a Demonſtration of the Nearness of the Land, we lay by for the *Joly*, to know what Monſieur *de Beaujeu* deſign'd, who being come up, lay by with us.

The 27th, Monſieur *de Beaujeu* ſent the *Chevalier d' Aire*, his Lieutenant, and two Pilots to Monſieur *de la Sale*, to conclude upon the Courſe we were to ſteer, and it was agreed we ſhould ſtand Weſt North Weſt till we came into ſix Fathom Water; that then we ſhould run Weſt, and when we had diſcover'd the Land, Boats ſhould be ſent to view the Country. Matters being thus agreed on, we ſail'd again, ſounding all the Way for the more Security, and about ten, were in ten or eleven Fathom Water, the Bottom fine greyiſh Sand and owzy. At Noon, were in 26 Degrees 37 Minutes of North Latitude.

The 28th, being in eight or nine Fathom Water, we perceiv'd the Bark *la Belle*, which kept a Head of us, put out her Colours, which was the Signal of her having diſcover'd Something. A Sailor was ſent up to the Main-Top, who deſcry'd the Land, to the N. E. not above ſix Leagues Diſtance from us, which being told to Monſieur *de Beaujeu*, he thought fit to come to an Anchor.

There being no Man among us who had any Knowledge of that Bay, where we had been told

told the Currents were ſtrong, and ſate ſwiftly to the *Eaſtward*, it made us ſuſpect that we were fallen off, and that the Land we ſaw muſt be the Bay of *Apalache*, which oblig'd us on the 29th to ſteer *W. N. W.* ſtill keeping along the Land, and it was agreed that the *Joly* ſhould follow us in ſix Fathom Water. *Dec.* 1684

The 30th, the *Chevalier d' Aire* and the ſecond Pilot of the *Joly* came aboard us to confer and adjuſt by our Recknings what Place we might be in, and they all agreed, according to Monſieur *de la Sale*'s Opinion, that the Currents had ſet us to the *Eaſtward*, for which Reaſon we held on our Courſe, as we had done the Day before to the *N. W.* keeping along the Shore till the firſt of *January* 1685. when we perceiv'd that the Currents forc'd us towards the Land, which oblig'd us to come to an Anchor in ſix Fathom Water. *Currents.*

We had not been there long, before the Bark *la Belle* made a Signal that ſhe had diſcover'd Land, which we deſcry'd at about 4 Leagues Diſtance from us. Notice was given to Monſieur *de Beaujeu*, who drew near to us, and it was reſolv'd to ſend ſome Perſon to diſcover and take an Account of the Land that appear'd to us.

Accordingly a Boat was man'd, and into it went Monſieur *de la Sale*, the *Chevalier de Aire* and ſeveral others; another Boat was alſo put out, aboard which I went with Ten or Twelve of our Gentlemen, to join Monſieur *de la Sale* and the Bark *la Belle* was order'd to follow always keeping along the Shore; to the End that if the Wind ſhou'd riſe, we might get aboard her, to loſe no Time.

Some

Jan. 1685

Firſt Landing.

Some of thoſe who were in Monſieur *de la Sale*'s Boat, and the foremoſt, went aſhore and ſaw a ſpacious plain Country of much Paſture Ground; but had not the Leiſure to make any particular Diſcovery, because the Wind freſhning, they were oblig'd to return to their Boat, to come aboard again; which was the Reaſon why we did not go quite up to the Shore, but return'd with them to our Ship. All that could be taken Notice of was a great Quantity of Wood along the Coaſt. We took an Obſervation and found 29 Degrees 10 Minutes of North Latitude.

The Second, there aroſe a Fog, which made us loſe Sight of the *Joly*. The next Day, the Weather clearing up, we fir'd ſome Cannonſhot and the *Joly* anſwer'd, and towards the Evening we perceiv'd her to the Windward of us. We held on our Courſe, making ſeveral Trips till the Fourth in the Evening, when being in Sight and within two Leagues of the Land, we came to an Anchor to expect the *Joly*, for which we were in Pain.

Monſieur Joutel *believes here was one of the Mouths of the* Miſſiſipi. *See the Pref. and what follows.*

The Fifth, we ſet Sail and held on our Courſe *W. S. W.* keeping along the Shore till about Six in the Evening, when we ſtood away to the *Southward* and anchor'd at Night in ſix Fathom Water. The Sixth, we would have made ready to ſail, but the Pilot perceiving, that the Sea broke aſtern of us, and that there were ſome Shoals, it was thought proper to continue at Anchor, till the Wind chang'd, and we accordingly ſtaid there the Sixth and all the Seventh. The Eighth the Wind veering about, we ſtood out a little to Sea, to avoid thoſe Shoals, which are very dangerous, and anchor'd again a League from

from thence. Upon Advice, that the Bark *la Belle* had diſcover'd a ſmall Iſland, which appear'd between the two Points of a Bay, Monſieur *de la Sale* ſent a Man up to the round Top, from whence both the one and the other were plainly to be ſeen, and according to the Sea Charts we had with us, that was ſuppos'd to be the Bay of the *Holy Ghoſt*. *Jan.* 1685

The Ninth, Monſieur *de la Sale*, ſent to view thoſe Shoals. Thoſe who went reported there was a ſort of Bank, which runs along the Coaſt; that they had been in one Fathom Water and diſcover'd the little Iſland before-mention'd, and as for the Sand Bank there is no ſuch thing mark'd down in the Charts. Monſieur *de la Sale* having examin'd the Recknings, was confirm'd in his Opinion, that we were in the Bay of *Apalache*, and caus'd us to continue the ſame Courſe.

The Tenth, he took an Obſervation and found 29 Degrees 23 Minutes North Latitude. The eleventh, we were becalm'd, and Monſieur *de la Sale* reſolv'd to go aſhore, to endeavour to diſcover what he was looking for; but as we were making ready, the Pilot began to mutter becauſe five or ſix of us were going with Monſieur *de la Sale*, who too lightly alter'd his Deſign, to avoid giving Offence to brutiſh People. In that Particular he committed an irretrieveable Error; for it is the Opinion of Judicious Men, who, as well as I, ſaw the reſt of that Voyage, that the Mouth of one of the Branches of the *Miſſiſipi* River, and the ſame whoſe Latitude Monſieur *de la Sale* had taken, when he travell'd to it from *Canada*, was not far from that

Jan. 1685 that Place, and that we muſt of Neceſſity be near the Bay of the *Holy Ghoſt*.

Monſieur de la Sale's *Miſtake.*

It was Monſieur *de la Sale*'s Deſign to find that Bay, and having found it, he had reſolv'd to have ſet aſhore about thirty Men, who were to have follow'd the Coaſt on the Right and Left, which would infallibly have diſcover'd to him that fatal River, and have prevented many Misfortunes; but Heaven refus'd him that Succeſs, and even made him regardleſs of an Affair of ſuch Conſequence, ſince he was ſatisfy'd with ſending thither the Pilot, with one of the Maſters of the Bark *la Belle*, who return'd without having ſeen any Thing, becauſe a fog happen'd to riſe; only the Maſter of the Bark ſaid he believ'd there was a River oppoſite to thoſe Shoals, which was very likely, and yet Monſieur *de la Sale* took no Notice of it, nor made any Account of that Report.

The Twelfth, the Wind being come about we weigh'd and directed our Courſe *S. W.* to get further from the Land. By an Obſervation found 25 Degrees 50 Minutes North Latitude, and the Wind ſhifting, and the Currents, which ſet from the Seaward driving us aſhore, it was found convenient to anchor in four or five Fathom Water, where we ſpent all the Night.

The Thirteenth, we perceiv'd our Water began to fall ſhort, and therefore it was requiſite to go aſhore to fill ſome Casks. Monſieur *de la Sale* propos'd it to me to go and ſee it perform'd, which I accepted of, with ſix of our Gentlemen who offer'd their Service. We went into the Boat, with our Arms, the Boat belonging to the Bark *la Belle* follow'd ours, with

with five or ſix Men, and we all made directly for the Land. *Jan.* 1685

We were very near the Shoar, when we diſcover'd a number of naked Men marching along the Banks, whom we ſuppos'd to be native Savages. We drew within two Musket Shots of the Land, and the Shore being flat, the Wind ſetting from the Offing, and the Sea running high, dropt our Anchors, for Fear of ſtaving our Boats.

When the Savages perceiv'd we had ſtopp'd, they made Signs to us with Skins, to go to them, ſhew'd us their Bows, which they laid down upon the Ground, and drew near to the Edge of the Shore; but becauſe we could not get Aſhore, and ſtill they continued their Signals, I put my Handkerchief on the End of my Firelock, after the Manner of a Flag, and made Signs to them to come to us. They were ſome Time conſidering of it, and at laſt ſome of them ran into the Water up to their Shoulders, till perceiving that the Waves overwhelm'd them, they went out again, fetch'd a large Piece of Timber, which they threw into the Sea, plac'd themſelves along both Sides of it, holding faſt to it with one Arm, and ſwiming with the other; and in that Manner they drew near to our Boat. *Savages came to the Boat.*

Being in Hopes that Monſr. *de la Sale*, might get ſome Information from thoſe Savages, we made no Difficulty of taking them into our Boat, one after another, on each Side, to the Number of five, and then made Signs to the reſt to go to the other Boat, which they did, and we carry'd them on Board. *Carryed Aboard.*

Mon-

Jan. 1685 Monſieur *de la Sale* was very well pleas'd to ſee them, imagining they might give him ſome Account of the River he ſought after; but to no Purpoſe, for he ſpoke to them in ſeveral of the Languages of the Savages, which he knew, and made many Signs to them, but ſtill they underſtood not what he meant, or if they did comprehend any thing, they made Signs, that they knew nothing of what he ask'd; ſo that having made them ſmoak and eat, we ſhewed them our Arms and the Ship, and when they ſaw at one End of it ſome Sheep, Swine, Hens and Turkeys, and the Hide of a Cow we had kill'd, they made Signs that they had of all thoſe Sorts of Creatures among them.

Return Aſhore with Gifts.

We gave them ſome Knives and Strings of Beads, after which, they were diſmiſs'd, and the Waves hindring us from coming too near the Shore, they were oblig'd to leap into the Water, after we had made faſt about their Necks, or to the Tuft of Hair they have on the Top of the Head, the Knives and other ſmall Preſents Monſieur *de la Sale* had given them.

They went and join'd the others who expected them, and were making Signs to us to go to them; but not being able to make the Shore, we ſtood off again and return'd to our Ship. It is to be obſerved, that when we were carrying them back, they made ſome Signs to us, by which we conceiv'd they would ſignify to us that there was a great River that Way we were paſs'd, and that it occaſion'd the Shoals we had ſeen.

The

The Wind changing, the ſame Day, we weigh'd Anchor and ſtood to the Southward, to get into the Offing, till the 14th in the Morning, when we were becalm'd. At Noon, we were in 28 Degrees 51 Minutes of North Latitude. The Wind freſhned, and in the Evening we held on our Courſe, but only for a ſhort Time, becauſe the Wind ſetting us towards the Shore, we were obliged to anchor again, whereupon Monſieur *de la Sale* again reſolved to ſend Aſhore, and the ſame Perſons imbark'd in the ſame Boats to that effect. *Jan.* 1685

We met with the ſame Obſtacles, that had hinder'd us the Day before, that is, the High-Sea, which would not permit us to come near the Shore, and were obliged to drop Anchor in fourteen Foot Water. The Sight of Abundance of Goats and Bullocks, differing in Shape, from ours, and running along the Coaſt, heighten'd our Earneſtneſs to be Aſhore. We therefore ſounded to ſee whether we might get to Land by Stripping, and found we were on a Flat, which had four Foot Water, but that beyond it there was a deep Channel. Whilſt we were conſulting what to do, a Storm aroſe, which oblig'd Monſieur *de la Sale* to fire a Gun for us to return Aboard, which we did againſt our Inclination. *Goats and Bullocks.*

Monſieur *de la Sale* was pleas'd with the Report we made him, and by it, ſeveral were encouraged to go Aſhore to hunt, that we might have ſome freſh Meat. We ſpent all that Night, till the next Morning, in Hopes of returning ſoon to that Place; but the Wind changing, forc'd us to weigh and ſail till the Evening, when we drop'd Anchor in ſix Fathom Water.

The

Jan. 1685 The Land which we never departed from very far, appear'd to us very pleaſant, and having lain there till the 16th, that Morning we ſail'd *W. S. W.* We weather'd a Point, keeping a large Offing, becauſe of the Sea's beating upon it, and ſtood to the Southward. At Noon, we were in 28 Degrees 20 Minutes of North Latitude, and conſequently found the Latitude declin'd, by which we were ſenſible, that the Coaſt tendred to the Southward. At Night we anchor'd in ſix Fathom Water.

The 17th, the Wind continuing the ſame, we held on our Courſe *S. W.* and having about Ten diſcover'd a Sort of River, Monſieur *de la Sale* caus'd Ten of us to go into a Boat, to take a View of that Coaſt, and ſee whether there was not ſome Place to land. He order'd me, in Caſe we found any convenient Place, to give him Notice either by Fire or Smoke.

Second landing. We ſet out, and found the Shoals obſtructed our Deſcent. One of our Men went naked into the Water to ſound that Sand Bank, which lay between us and the Land; and having ſhewn us a Place where we might Paſs, we, with much Difficulty, forc'd our Boat into the Channel, and ſix or ſeven of us landed, after ordering the Boat to go up into that which had appeared to us to be a River, to ſee whether any freſh Water could be found.

As ſoon as we were landed, I made a Smoke to give Notice to Monſieur *de la Sale*, and then we advanc'd both Ways, without ſtragling too far, that we might be ready to receive Monſr. *de la Sale*, who was to come, as he did, ſoon after, but finding the Surges run high, he return'd

turn'd, and our Boat finding no freſh Water, came back and anchor'd to wait for us. *Jan.* 1685

We walked about every Way, and found a dry Soil, tho' it ſeem'd to be overflow'd at ſome Times; great Lakes of ſalt Water, little Graſs, the Track of Goats, on the Sand, and ſaw Herds of them, but could not come near them, however we kill'd ſome Ducks and Buſtards. In the Evening, as we were returning, we miſs'd an Engliſh Seaman, fir'd ſeveral Shot to give him Notice, ſearched all about, waited till after Sunſet, and at laſt hearing no Tidings of him, we went into the Boat to return Aboard.

I gave Monſieur *de la Sale* an Account of what we had ſeen, which would have pleas'd him, had the River we diſcover'd, afforded freſh Water: He was alſo uneaſy for the loſt Man; but about Midnight we ſaw a Fire Aſhore, in the Place we came from, which we ſupos'd to be made by our Man, and the Boat went for him as ſoon as it was day on the 18th.

After that, we made ſeveral Trips, ſtill ſteering towards the *S. W.* and then enſued a Calm, which oblig'd us to come to an Anchor. Want of Water made us think of returning towards the River, where we had been the Day before. Monſr. *de la Sale* reſolved to ſet a conſiderable Number of Men Aſhore, with ſufficient Ammunition, and to go with them himſelf, to diſcover and take Cognizance of that Country, and order'd me to follow him. Accordingly we ſail'd back, and came to an Anchor in the ſame Place.

All things neceſſary for that End being order'd on the 19th, Part of the Men were put into a Boat; but a very thick Fog riſing, and taking

Jan. 1685 taking away the Sight of Land, the Compaſs was made uſe of, and the fog diſperſing as we drew near the Land, we perceiv'd a Ship making directly towards us, and that it was the *Joly*, where Monſr. *de Beaujeu* commanded, which rejoic'd us, but our Satisfaction was not laſting, and it will appear by the Sequel, that it were to have been wiſhed, that Monſieur *de Beaujeu* had not joyn'd us again, but that he had rather gone away for *France*, without ever ſeeing of us.

His Arrival diſconcerted the Execution of our Enterprize. Monſr. *de la Sale*, who was already on his Way, and thoſe who were gone before him, return'd Aboard, and ſome Hours after, Monſr. *de Beaujeu* ſent his Lieutenant, Monſr. *de Aire*, attended by ſeveral Perſons, as well Clergymen as others, among whom was the Sieur *Gabaret*, ſecond Pilot of the *Joly*.

Commanders at Variance.

Monſieur *d'Aire* complain'd grievouſly to Monſieur *de la Sale*, in the Name of Monſr. *de Beaujeu*, for that ſaid he, we had left him deſignedly; which was not true, for as I have ſaid, the *Joly* lay at Anchor A-head of us, when we were ſeparated from her; we fired a Gun to give her Notice of our Departure, as had been concerted, and Monſr. *de Beaujeu* anſwer'd it; beſides that, if we had intended to ſeparate from him, we ſhould not have always held our Courſe in Sight of Land, as we had done, and that had Monſieur *de Beaujeu* held the ſame Courſe, as had been agreed, he had not been ſeparated from us.

There were afterwards ſeveral Diſputes between the Captains and the Pilots, as well Aboard Monſieur *de la Sale*, as Aboard Monſieur *de*

de Beaujeu, when thoſe Gentlemen return'd, about ſettling exactly the Place we were in, and the Courſe we were to ſteer; ſome poſitively affirming we were farther than we imagin'd, and that the Currents had carry'd us away; and others, that we were near the *Magdalen* River. Jan. 1685

The former of thoſe Notions prevail'd, whence, upon Reflection, Monſieur *de la Sale* concluded, that he muſt be paſt his River, which was but too true; for that River emptying it ſelf in the Sea by two Channels, it follow'd that one of the Mouths fell about the Shoals we had obſerv'd the ſixth of the Month; and the rather becauſe thoſe Shoals were very near the Latitude that Monſieur *de la Sale* had obſerv'd, when he came by the way of *Canada* to diſcover the Mouth of that River, as he told me ſeveral Times. *They paſs the Mouth of the* Miſſiſipi.

This Conſideration prevail'd with Monſieur *de la Sale* to propoſe his Deſign of returning towards thoſe Shoals. He gave his Reaſons for ſo doing and expoſed his Doubts; but his ill Fortune made him not be regarded. Our Paſſage had taken up more Time than had been expected, by Reaſon of the Calms; there was a conſiderable Number of Men aboard the *Joly*, and Proviſions grew ſhort, inſomuch that they ſaid it would not hold out to return, if our Departure were delay'd. For this Reaſon Monſieur *de Beaujeu* demanded Proviſions of Monſieur *de la Sale*; but he asking enough for a long Time, Monſieur *de la Sale* anſwer'd, he could only give him enough for a Fortnight, which was more Time than was requiſite to reach the Place he intended to return to; and that beſides he

Jan. 1685 he could not give him more Proviſions, without rummaging all the Stores to the Bottom of the Hold, which would endanger his being caſt away. Thus nothing was concluded, and Monſieur *de Beaujeu* return'd to his own Ship.

Third Landing. In the mean Time, Want of Water began to pinch us, and Monſieur *de la Sale* reſolv'd to ſend to look for ſome about the next River. Accordingly he order'd the two Boats that had been made ready the Day before, to go off. He was aboard one of them himſelf, and directed me to follow him. Monſieur *de Beaujeu* alſo commanded his Boat to go for Wood. By the Way we met the ſaid Sieur *de Beaujeu* in his Yaul, returning from Land, with the Sieur *Minet*, an Ingenier, who told us, they had been in a Sort of ſalt Pool, two or three Leagues from the Place where the Ships were at Anchor, we held on our Way and landed.

One of our Boats, which was gone ahead of us, had been a League and a half up the River, without finding any freſh Water in its Channel; but ſome Men wandering about to the right and left, had met with divers Rivulets of very good Water, wherewith many Casks were fill'd.

We lay aſhore, and our Hunters having that Day kill'd good Store of Ducks, Buſtards and Teal, and the next Day two Goats, Monſieur *de la Sale* ſent Monſieur *de Beaujeu* Part. We feaſted upon the reſt, and that good Sport put ſeveral Gentlemen that were then aboard Monſieur *de Beaujeu*, among whom were Monſieur *du Hamel*, the Enſign and the King's Clerk, upon coming aſhore to partake of the Diverſion; but they took much Pains and were not ſucceſsfull in their Sport. In

In the mean Time many Casks were fill'd with Water, as well for our Ship as for Monſieur *de Beaujeu*'s. Some Days after Monſieur *d' Aire* the Lieutenant, came aſhore to confer with Monſieur *de la Sale*, and to know how he would manage about the Proviſions; but both of them perſiſting in their firſt Propoſals and Monſieur *de la Sale* perceiving that Monſieur *de Beaujeu* would not be ſatisfied with Proviſions for 15 Days, which he thought ſufficient to go to the Place where he expected to find one of the Branches of the *Miſſiſipi*, which he with good Reaſon believ'd to be about the Shoals, I have before ſpoken of, nothing was concluded as to that Affair. Monſieur *d' Aire* return'd to his Captain, and Monſieur *de la Sale* reſolv'd to land his Men; which could not be done for ſome Days, becauſe of the foul Weather; but in the mean Time we kill'd much Game. *Jan.* 1685

During this little Interval, Monſieur *de la Sale* being impatient to get ſome Intelligence of what he ſought after, reſolv'd to go himſelf upon Diſcovery, and to ſeek out ſome more uſeful and commodious River than that where they were. To this Purpoſe he took five or ſix of us along with him. We ſet out one Morning in ſo thick a Fog, that the hindmoſt could not perceive the Track of the foremoſt, ſo that we loſt Monſieur *de la Sale* for ſome Time.

We travel'd till about three in the Afternoon, finding the Country for the moſt Part Sandy, little Graſs, no freſh Water, unleſs in ſome Sloughs, the Track of abundance of wild Goats, Lakes full of Ducks, Teals, Water-Hens, and having taken much Pains return'd without Succeſs. *Account of the Country*

The

Jan. 1685 The next Morning, Monſieur *de la Sale*'s *Indian*, going about to find wild Goats, came to a Lake, which had a little Ice upon it, the Weather being cold, and Abundance of Fiſh dying about the Edges of it. He came to inform us, we went to make our Proviſion of them, there were ſome of a prodigious Magnitude, and among the reſt extraordinary large Trouts, or elſe they were ſome Sort of Fiſh very like them. We cauſed ſome of each of a Sort to be boil'd in ſalt Water, and found them very good. Thus having Plenty of Fiſh and Fleſh, we began to uſe ourſelves to eat them both, without Bread.

Whilſt we liv'd thus eaſy enough, Monſieur *de la Sale* expected with Impatience to know what Reſolution Monſieur *de Beaujeu* would take; that he might either go to the Place, where he expected to find the *Miſſiſipi*, or follow ſome other Courſe; but at laſt, perceiving that his Affairs did not advance, he reſolv'd to put his own Deſign in Execution, the Purport whereof was to land one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and thirty Men to go along the Coaſt and continue it, till they had found ſome other River, and that at the ſame Time the Bark *la Belle* ſhould hold the ſame Courſe at Sea, ſtill keeping along the Coaſt, to relieve thoſe Aſhore in Time of Need.

He gave me and Monſieur *Moranget*, his Nephew, the Command of that ſmall Company, he furniſh'd us with all Sorts of Proviſions for eight, or ten Days, as alſo Arms, Tools and Utenſils we might have Occaſion for, of which every Man made his Bundle. He alſo gave us written Inſtructions of what we were to do, the Signals

Signals we were to make; and thus we ſet out on the Fourth of *February*. *Feb.* 1685

We took our Way along the Shore. Our firſt Day's Journey was not long, we encamp'd on a little riſing Ground, heard a Cannon ſhot, which made us uneaſy, made the Signals that had been appointed, and the next Day, being the 5th, we held on our March, Monſieur *Moranget* bringing up the Rear, and I leading the Van. *Men ſent by Land to diſcover.*

I will not ſpend Time in relating ſeveral perſonal Accidents, inconſiderable in themſelves, or of no Conſequence, the moſt conſiderable of them being the Want of freſh Water; but will proceed to ſay, that after three Days March we found a great River, where we halted and made the Signals agreed on, encamping on a commodious Spot of Ground till we could hear of the Boat, which was to follow us, or of our Ships.

But our Proviſions beginning to fall ſhort, and none of our Ships appearing, being beſides apprehenſive of ſome unlucky Accident occaſion'd by the Diſagreement between Monſieur *de la Sale* and Monſr. *de Beaujeu*, the Chief of our Company came together to know what Reſolution we ſhould take. It was agreed, that we ſhould ſpare our Proviſions to endeavour to go on to ſome Place where we might find Bullocks; but it was requiſite to croſs the River, and we knew not how, becauſe we were too many of us, and therefore it was decreed to ſet ſome Carpenters there were among us at Work to build a little Boat, which took them up the eleventh and twelfth of *February*.

The

Feb. 1685

The 13th, we were put out of our Pain by two Veſſels we diſcover'd at Sea, which we knew to be the *Joly* and *la Belle*, to whom we made our Signals with Smoke. They came not in then, becauſe it was late, but the next Day being the 14th in the Morning, the Boat, with the Sieur *Barbier* and the Pilot of the Bark *la Belle* come up, and both ſounded the Mouth of the River.

A fine River.

They found on the Bar, from ten to twelve Foot Water, and within it from five to ſix Fathom; the Breadth of the River being about half a Quarter of a League. They ſounded near the Iſland, which lies between the two Points of the Bay, and found the ſame Depth. The Boat of the *Joly* came and ſounded on the other Side of the Channel, and particularly along the Shoals, I know not to what Purpoſe. The ſame Day, Monſieur *de la Sale*, for whom we were much in Pain, came alſo, and as ſoon as he arrived, he caus'd the Boat to be laden with ſuch Proviſions as we ſtood in Need of, but the Wind being contrary, it could not come to us till the next Day, being the 15th.

That ſame Day, Monſr. *de la Sale* came Aſhoar to view the Place and examine the Entrance into the River, which he found to be very good. Having conſider'd all Particulars, he reſolv'd to ſend in the Bark *la Belle* and l' *Aimable*, that they might be under Shelter, to which Purpoſe, he order'd to ſound, and to know whether thoſe two Veſſels could both come in that ſame Day. Monſieur *de Beaujeu* caus'd alſo the Place to be ſounded, and lay Aſhoar on the other Side of the River, where he took Notice there were Vines which run up the Trees, like

our

our Wall Vines, ſome Woods and the Carcaſſes of Bullocks, which he ſuppoſed to have died with Thirſt. *Feb.* 1685

The 16th, the Pilots of the *Joly*, *l'Aimable* and *la Belle*, went again to ſound, they found the Entrance eaſy, and gave it under their Hands. The 17th, they fix'd Stakes to mark out the Way, that the Veſſels might come ſafe in. All Things ſeem'd to promiſe a happy Event.

The 18th, the Chevalier *d'Aire* came aſhore, to confer with Monſieur *de la Sale*, who being deſirous to have the Fly-boat *l'Aimable* come in that Day, order'd the moſt weighty Things in her to be unloaded, as the Cannon, the Iron and ſome other Things. It was my good Fortune that my Cheſt ſtood in the Way, and was alſo unloaded, but that Unlading could not be done till the next Day, being the 19th. That being perform'd, the Captain affirm'd it would go in at 8 Foot Water.

The 20th, Monſieur *de la Sale* ſent Orders to that Captain to draw near the Bar, and to come in at high Water, of which a Signal ſhould be given him; he alſo order'd the Pilot of the Bark *la Belle* to go aboard the Flyboat, to be aſſiſting when it came in. The Captain would not receive him aboard, ſaying, he could carry in his Ship without his Help. All theſe Precautions prov'd of no Uſe; Monſieur *de la Sale* could not avert his ill Fate. He having taken Notice of a large Tree on the Bank of the River, which he judg'd fit to make a Canoe, ſent 7 or 8 Workmen to hew it down, two of whom return'd ſome Time after, in a great Fright, and told him, they had narrowly eſcap'd being taken

Feb. 1685 taken by a Company of Savages, and that they believ'd the others had fallen into their Hands. Monſieur *de la Sale* order'd us immediately to handle our Arms, and to march with Drums beating towards the Savages, who ſeeing us in that Poſture, fac'd about and went off.

A Company of Savages.

Monſieur *de la Sale* being deſirous to join thoſe Savages, to endeavour to get ſome Information from them, order'd Ten of us to lay down our Arms and draw near them, making Signs to them, at the ſame Time, to come to us. When they ſaw us in that Poſture and unarm'd, moſt of them alſo laid down their Bows and Arrows and came to meet us, carreſſing us after their Manner, and ſtroaking firſt their own Breaſts and then ours, then their own Arms and afterwards ours. By theſe Signs they gave us to underſtand that they had a Friendſhip for us, which they expreſs'd by laying their Hands on their Hearts, and we did the ſame on our Part.

Their Friendly Behaviour.

Six or ſeven of thoſe Savages went along with us, and the reſt kept three of our Men, in the Nature of Hoſtages. Thoſe who went with us were made much of, but Monſieur *de la Sale* could learn nothing of them, either by Signs or otherwiſe; all they could make us underſtand was, that there was good hunting of Bullocks in the Country. We obſerv'd, that their *Yea* conſiſted in a Cry, fetch'd from the Bottom of the Throat, not unlike the Call of a Hen to gather her Chickens. Monſieur *de la Sale* gave them ſome Knives, Hatchets and other Trifles, with which they ſeem'd well pleaſed, and went away.

Monſieur

Monſieur *de la Sale* was glad to be rid of thoſe People, becauſe he was willing to be preſent when the Flyboat came in; but his ill Fate would not permit it. He thought fit to go himſelf along with thoſe Savages, and we follow'd him, thinking to have found our Men in the ſame Place where we left them; but perceiv'd on the Contrary, that the Savages had carried them away to their Camp, which was a League and half from us, and Monſieur *de la Sablonniere*, Lieutenant of Foot, being one of thoſe the Savages had taken with them, Monſieur *de la Sale* reſolved to go himſelf to fetch him away, an unhappy Thought which coſt him dear. *Feb.* 1685

As we were on our Way towards the Camp of the Savages, happenning to look towards the Sea, we ſaw the Flyboat *l'Aimable* under Sail, which the Savages who were with us admir'd, and Monſieur *de la Sale* obſerving it narrowly, told us, thoſe People ſteer'd wrong, and were ſtanding towards the Shoals, which made him very uneaſy, but ſtill we advanc'd. We arriv'd at the Camp of the Savages, which ſtood upon an Eminence, and conſiſted of about Fifty Cottages made of ruſh Mats, and others of dry'd Skins, and built with long Poles, bow'd round at the Top, like great Ovens, and moſt of the Savages ſitting about, as if they were upon the Watch. *Their Camp.*

We were ſtill advancing into the Village, when he heard a Cannon Shot, the Noiſe whereof ſtruck ſuch a Dread among the Savages, that they all fell flat upon the Ground; but Monſieur *de la Sale* and we were too ſenſible it was a Signal that our Ship was aground, which was confirm'd by ſeeing them furl their Sails; however

Feb. 1685 However we were gone too far to return; our Men muſt be had, and to that Purpoſe, we muſt proceed to the Hut of the Commander in Chief.

As ſoon as we arrived there, Monſr. *de la Sale* was introduc'd; many of the *Indian* Women came in, they were very deform'd and all naked, excepting a Skin girt about them, which hung down to their Knees. They would have led us to their Cottages, but Monſr. *de la Sale* had order'd us not to part, and to obſerve whether the *Indians* did not draw together, ſo that we kept together, ſtanding upon our Guard, and I was always with him.

Their Entertainment.

They brought us ſome Pieces of Beef, both freſh and dry'd in the Air and Smoke, and Pieces of Porpois, which they cut with a Sort of Knife, made of Stone, ſetting one Foot upon it, and holding with one Hand, whilſt they cut with the other. We ſaw nothing of Iron among them. They had given our Men, that came with them, to eat, and Monſr. *de la Sale* being extraordinary uneaſy, we ſoon took Leave of them to return. At our going out, we obſerv'd about forty Canoes, ſome of them like thoſe Monſr. *de la Sale* had ſeen on the *Miſſiſipi*, which made him conclude he was not far from it.

L' Aimable *caſt away.*

We ſoon arrived at our Camp, and found the Misfortune, Monſr. *de la Sale* had apprehended, was but too certain. The Ship was ſtranded on the Shoals. The ill Management of the Captain, or of the Pilot, who had not ſteer'd by the Stakes placed for that Purpoſe; the Cries of a Sailor poſted on the Main-top, who cry'd amain, *Loof*, which was to ſteer towards

towards the Paſſage marked out, whilſt the wicked Captain cry'd, *Come no nearer*, which was to ſteer the contrary Courſe; the ſame Captain's Careleſneſs in not dropping his Anchor, as ſoon as the Ship touch'd, which would have prevented her ſticking aground; the Folly of lowering his Main-Sheet and hoiſting out his Sprit-Sail, the better to fall into the Wind, and ſecure the Shipwreck; the Captain's refuſing to admit the Pilot of the Bark *la Belle*, whom Monſieur *de la Sale* had ſent to aſſiſt him; the ſounding upon the Shoals to no Purpoſe, and ſeveral other Circumſtances reported by the Ship's Crew and thoſe who ſaw the Management, were infallible Tokens and Proofs, that the Miſchief had been done deſignedly and adviſeably, which was one of the blackeſt and moſt deteſtable Actions that Man could be guilty of. *Feb.* 1685

This Misfortune was ſo much the greater, becauſe that Veſſel contain'd almoſt all the Ammunition, Utenſils, Tools and other Neceſſaries for Monſr. *de la Sale*'s Enterprize and Settlement. He had need of all his Reſolution to bear up againſt it; but his Intrepidity did not forſake him, and he apply'd himſelf, without grieving, to Remedy what might be. All the Men were taken out of the Ship; he deſir'd Monſieur *de Beaujeu* to lend him his long Boat, to help ſave as much as might be. We began with Powder and Meal. About thirty Hogſheads of Wine and Brandy were ſaved, and Fortune being incens'd againſt us, two Things contributed to the total Loſs of all the reſt:

The

Feb. 1685 The firſt was, that our Boat, which hung at the Stern of the Ship run A-ground, was maliciouſly ſtav'd in the Night, ſo that we had none left but Monſieur *de Beaujeu*'s. The ſecond, that the Wind blowing in from the Offing, made the Waves run high, which beating violently againſt the Ship, ſplit her, and all the light Goods were carry'd out at the opening, by the Water. This laſt Misfortune happen'd alſo in the Night. Thus every Thing fell out moſt unhappily, for had that befallen in the Day, Abundance of Things might have been ſaved.

Whilſt we were upon this melancholly Employment, about an hundred, or an hundred and twenty of the Natives came to our Camp, with their Bows and Arrows. Monſieur *de la Sale* order'd us to handle our Arms, and ſtand upon our Guard. About twenty of thoſe *Indians* mix'd themſelves among us, to obſerve what we had ſaved of the Shipwreck, upon which, there were ſeveral Sentinels, to let none come near the Powder.

The reſt of the *Indians* ſtood in Parcels, or Pelotons. Monſr. *de la Sale*, who was acquainted with their Ways, order'd us to obſerve their Behaviour, and to take Nothing from them, which nevertheleſs did not hinder ſome of our Men from receiving ſome Pieces of Meat. Some Time after, when the *Indians* were about departing, they made Signs to us to go a Hunting with them; but beſides that, there was ſufficient Cauſe to ſuſpect them, we had enough other Buſineſs to do. However we ask'd, whether they would barter for any of their Canoes, which they agreed to. The Sieur *Barbier* went along with

with them, purchas'd two for Hatchets and brought them. *Feb.* 1685

Some Days after, we perceiv'd a Fire in the Country, which ſpread it ſelf and burnt the dry Weeds, ſtill drawing towards us; whereupon, Monſr. *de la Sale* made all the Weeds and Herbs that were about us, be pull'd up, and particularly all about the Place where the Powder was. Being deſirous to know the Occaſion of that Fire, he took about twenty of us along with him, and we march'd that Way, and even beyond the Fire, without ſeeing any Body. We perceiv'd that it run towards the *W. S. W.* and judg'd it had begun about our firſt Camp, and at the Village next the Fire.

Having ſpy'd a Cottage near the Bank of a Lake, we drew towards it, and found an old Woman in it, who fled as ſoon as ſhe ſaw us; but having overtaken and given her to underſtand, that we would do her no Harm, ſhe return'd to her Cottage, where we found ſome Pitchers of Water, of which we all drank. Some Time after we ſaw a Canoe coming, in which were two Women and a Boy, who being landed, and perceiving we had done the old Woman no Harm, came and imbraced us in a very particular Manner, blowing upon our Ears and making Signs to give us to underſtand, that their People were a hunting. *Odd Salutation.*

A few Minutes after, ſeven or eight of the *Indians* appeared, who, it is likely, had hid themſelves among the Weeds when they ſaw us coming. Being come up they ſaluted us, after the ſame Manner, as the Women had done, which made us laugh. We ſtaid there ſome Time with them. Some of our Men barter'd Knives

Feb. 1685 Knives for Goats Skins, after which we return'd to our Camp; Being come thither, Monſieur *de la Sale* made me go aboard the Bark *la Belle*, where he had imbark'd Part of the Powder, with poſitive Orders not to carry, or permit any Fire to be made there, having ſufficient Cauſe to fear every thing, after what had hapned. For this Reaſon they carry'd me and all that were with me, our Meat every Day.

During this time it was that *l'Aimable* opening in the Night, the next Morning we ſaw all the light Things that were come out of it floating about, and Monſieur *de la Sale* ſent Men every Way, who gather'd up about 30 Casks of Wine and Brandy, and ſome of Fleſh, Meal and Grain.

When we had gather'd all, as well what had been taken out of the Ship-wreck'd Veſſel as what could be pick'd up in the Sea, the next Thing was to regulate the Proviſions we had left proportionably to the Number of Men we were; and there being no more Bisket, Meal was deliver'd out, and with it we made Haſty Pudding with Water, which was none of the beſt; ſome large Beans and *India* Corn, part of which had taken wet; and every thing was diſtributed very diſcreetly. We were much incommoded for want of Kettles, but Monſieur *de Beaujeu* gave Monſieur *de la Sale* one, and he order'd another to be brought from the Bark *la Belle*, by which means we were well ſerv'd.

We were ſtill in want of Canoes. Monſieur *de la Sale* ſent to the Camp of the *Indians* to barter for ſome, and they who went thither obſerv'd, that thoſe People had made their Advantage of our Ship-wreck, and had ſome Bales of

of *Normandy* Blankets, and they ſaw ſeveral Women had cut them in two and made Petticoats of them. They alſo ſaw Bits of Iron of the Ship that was caſt away, and return'd immediately to make their Report to Monſieur *de la Sale*, who ſaid we muſt endeavour to get ſome Canoes in Exchange, and reſolv'd to ſend thither again the next Day. Monſieur *du Hamel*, Enſign to Monſr. *de Beaujeu*, offer'd to go up in his Boat, which Monſieur *de la Sale* agreed to, and order'd Meſſieurs *Moranget*, his Nephew, *Deſloges*, *Oris*, *Gayen*, and ſome others to bear him Company. *Feb.* 1685

No ſooner were thoſe Gentlemen, who were more Hot than Wiſe, landed, but they went up to the Camp of the *Indians*, with their Arms in their Hands, as if they had intended to force them, whereupon ſeveral of thoſe People fled. Going into the Cottages, they found others, to whom Monſieur *du Hamel* endeavour'd to ſignify by Signs, that he would have the Blankets they had found reſtor'd; but the Misfortune was, that none of them underſtood one another. The *Indians* thought it their beſt Way to withdraw, leaving behind them ſome Blankets and Skins of Beaſts, which thoſe Gentlemen took away, and finding ſome Canoes in their Return they ſeiz'd two, and got in, to bring them away. *Indiſcretion of an Enſign.*

But having no Oars, none of them knowing how to manage thoſe Canoes, and having only ſome pitiful Poles, which they could not tell the right Uſe of, and the Wind being alſo againſt them, they made little Way; which the Sieur *du Hamel*, who was in his Boat perceiving, and that Night drew on, he made the beſt of his

March 1685

his Way, forſook them and return'd to the Camp.

Thus Night came upon them, which oblig'd thoſe unexperienc'd Canoe Men, being thoroughly tir'd, to go aſhore to take ſome Reſt, and the Weather being cold, they lighted a Fire, about which they laid them down and fell aſleep; the Sentinel they had appointed doing the ſame. The *Indians* returning to their Camp, and perceiving our Men had carry'd away two Canoes, ſome Skins and Blankets, took it for a Declaration of a War, reſolv'd to be reveng'd, and diſcovering an unuſual Fire, preſently concluded that our men had halted there. A conſiderable Number of them repair'd to the Place, without making the leaſt Noiſe, found our careleſs People faſt aſleep, wrap'd up in their Blankets, and ſhot a full Volley of their Arrows upon them all together on a Sudden, having firſt given their uſual Shout before they fall on.

The Indians *take Revenge.*

Sieurs *Oris* and *Deſloges* kill'd.

The Sieur *Moranget* awaking with the Noiſe, and finding himſelf wounded, ſtarted up and fir'd his Piece ſucceſsfully enough, ſome others did the like, whereupon the Natives fled. The Sieur *Moranget* came to give us the Alarm, though he was ſhot through one of his Arms, below the Shoulder, and had another ſlanting Wound on the Breaſt. Monſieur *de la Sale* immediately ſent ſome arm'd Men to the Place, who could not find the *Indians*, but when Day appear'd, they found the Sieurs *Oris* and *Deſloges* dead upon the Spot, the Sieur *Gayen* much hurt, and the reſt all ſafe and ſound.

This

March 1685

This Diſaſter, which happen'd the Night of the 5th of *March*, very much afflicted Monſieur *de la Sale*; but he chiefly lamented Monſieur *Deſloges* a ſprightly Youth, who ſerv'd well; but in ſhort, it was their own Fault, and contrary to the Charge given them, which was to be watchful and upon their Guard. We were under Apprehenſions for Meſſieurs *Moranget* and *Gayen*, leſt the Arrows ſhould be poiſon'd. It afterwards appear'd they were not, however Monſieur *Moranget*'s Cure prov'd difficult, becauſe ſome ſmall Veſſel was cut.

The Conſequences of this Misfortune, together with the Concern, moſt of the beſt Perſons who had follow'd Monſieur *de la Sale* were under, ſupported the Deſign of thoſe who were for returning to *France* and forſaking him, of which Number were Monſieur *Dainmaville*, a Prieſt of the Seminary of St. *Sulpice*, the Sieur *Minet*, Engineer and ſome others. The common Diſcourſes of Monſieur *de la Sale*'s Enemies tending to diſcredit his Conduct, and to repreſent the pretended Raſhneſs of his Enterprize, contributed conſiderably towards the Deſertion; but his Reſolution prevailing, he heard and waited all Events with Patience, and always gave his Orders, without appearing the leaſt diſcompos'd.

He caus'd the Dead to be brought to our Camp, and bury'd them Honourably, the Cannon ſupplying the Want of Bells, and then conſider'd of making ſome ſafer Settlement. He caus'd all that had been ſav'd from the Shipwreck, to be brought together into one Place, threw up Intrenchments about it, to ſecure his Effects, and perceiving that the Water

March 1685

Water of the River, where we were, roul'd down violently into the Sea, he fancy'd that might be one of the Branches of the *Miſſiſipi*, and propos'd to go up it, to ſee whether he could find any Tokens of it, or of the Marks he had left, when he went down by Land to the Mouth of it.

Debates between the Commanders.

In the mean Time, Monſieur *de Beaujeu* was preparing to depart: The Chevalier *de Aire* had many Conferences with Monſieur *de la Sale* about ſeveral things, the latter demanded of Monſieur *de Beaujeu*, particularly the Cannon and Ball which were aboard the *Joly*, and had been deſign'd for him; which Monſieur *de Beaujeu* refus'd, alledging that all thoſe things lay at the Bottom of the Hold, and that he could not rummage it without evident Danger of periſhing; tho', at the ſame time, he knew we had Eight Pieces of Cannon and not one Bullet.

Mr. de la Sale *much wrong'd.*

I know not how that Affair was decided between them; but am ſure he ſuffer'd the Captain of the Fly-boat *l'Aimable* to imbark aboard Monſieur *de Beaujeu*, tho' he deſerv'd to be moſt ſeverely puniſh'd, had Juſtice been done him. His Crew follow'd him, contrary to what Monſieur *de Beaujeu* had promis'd, that he would not receive a Man of them. All that Monſieur *de la Sale* could do, tho' ſo much wrong'd, was to write to *France*, to Monſieur *de Saignelay*, Miniſter of State, whom he acquainted with alll the Particulars, as I was inform'd, when I return'd, and he gave the Packet to Monſieur *de Beaujeu*, who ſail'd away for *France*.

Mr. de Beaujeu *leaves him*

Having loſt the Notes I took at that time, and being forc'd to rely much upon Memory for what I now write, I ſhall not pretend to be any

any longer exact in the Dates, for fear of miſtaking, and therefore I cannot be poſitive as to the Day of Monſieur *de Beaujeu*'s Departure, but believe it was the 14th of *March*, 1685. *Mar.* 1685

When Monſr. *de Beaujeu* was gone, we fell to Work to make a Fort, of the Wreck of the Ship that had been caſt away, and many Pieces of Timber the Sea threw up; and during that Time, ſeveral Men deſerted, which added to Monſieur *de la Sale*'s Affliction. A *Spaniard* and a *French* Man ſtole away and fled, and were never more heard of. Four or five others follow'd their Example, but Monſieur *de la Sale* having timely Notice, ſent after them, and they were brought back. One of them was condemn'd to Death, and the others to ſerve the King ten Years in that Country. *A Fort built.*

When our Fort was well advanc'd, Monſr. *de la Sale* reſolv'd to clear his Doubts, and to go up the River, where we were, to know whether it was not an Arm of the *Miſſiſipi*, and accordingly order'd fifty Men to attend him, of which Number were Monſr. *Cavelier*, his Brother, and Monſr. *Chedeville*, both Prieſts, two Recolet Fryars, and ſeveral Voluntiers, who ſet out in five Canoes we had, with the neceſſary Proviſions. There remain'd in the Fort about an hundred and thirty Perſons, and Monſr. *de la Sale* gave me the Command of it, with Orders not to have any Commerce with the Natives, but to fire at them if they appear'd. *Monſr.* de la Sale *goes to diſcover up the River.*

Whilſt Monſr. *de la Sale* was abſent, I caus'd an Oven to be built, which was a great Help to us, and employ'd my ſelf in finiſhing the Fort, and putting it in a Poſture to with-

ſtand

*Mar.*1685 ſtand the *Indians*, who came frequently in the Night to range about us, howling like Wolves and Dogs; but two or three Muſquet Shots put them to Flight. It happen'd one Night, that having fir'd ſix or ſeven Shot, Monſieur *de la Sale* who was not far from us, heard *Returns* them, and being in Pain about it, he return'd with ſix or ſeven Men, and found all Things in a good Poſture.

He told us he had found a good Country, fit to ſow and plant all Sorts of Grain, a- *Sets out a-* bounding in Beeves and wild Fowl; that he *gain.* deſign'd to erect a Fort farther up the River, and accordingly he left me Orders to ſquare out as much Timber as I could get, the Sea caſting up much upon the Shore. He had given the ſame Orders to the Men he had left on the Spot, ſeven or eight of whom, detach'd from the reſt, being buſy at that Work, and ſeeing a Number of the Natives, fled, and unadviſeably left their Tools behind them. Monſieur *de la Sale* returning thither, found a Paper made faſt to a Reed, which gave him Notice of that Accident, which he was concern'd at, becauſe of the Tools, not ſo much for the Value of the Loſs, as becauſe it was furniſhing the Natives with ſuch Things as they might afterwards make Uſe of againſt us.

About the Beginning of *April*, we were a- *A Spaniſh* larm'd by a Veſſel which appear'd at Sea, near *Veſſel ap-* enough to diſcern the Sails, and we ſuppoſed *pears.* they might be *Spaniards*, who had heard of our Coming and were ranging the Coaſt to find us out. That made us ſtand upon our Guard, to keep within the Fort, and ſee that our Arms were

were fit for Service. We afterwards ſaw two Men in that Veſſel, who inſtead of coming to uss, went towards the other Point, and by that Means paſs'd on, without perceiving us. *Apr.* 1685

Having one Day obſerv'd, that the Water work'd and bubbled up, and afterwards perceiving it was occaſion'd by the Fiſh skipping from Place to Place, I cauſed a Net to be brought, and we took a prodigious Quantity of Fiſh, among which were many *Dorado*'s, or Gilt-Heads, Mullets and others about as big as a Herring, which afforded us good Food for ſeveral Days. This fiſhery, which I cauſed to be often follow'd, was a great Help towards our Subſiſtance. *Plenty of Fiſh taken.*

About that Time, and on *Eaſter-day* that Year, an unfortunate Accident befel Monſieur *le Gros*. After Divine Service he took a Gun to go kill Snipes about the Fort. He ſhot one, which fell into a Marſh, he took off his Shoes and Stockings to fetch it out, and returning, through Careleſsneſs trod upon a Rattle Snake, ſo call'd, becauſe it has a Sort of Scale on the Tail, which makes a Noiſe. The Serpent bit him a little above the Ankle, he was carefully dreſs'd and look'd after, yet after having endur'd very much, he dy'd at laſt, as I ſhall mention in its Place. Another more unlucky Accident befell us, one of our Fiſhermen ſwimming about the Net to gather the Fiſh, was carry'd away by the Current, and could not be help'd by us. *Rattle Snake bites M* le Gros.

Our Men ſometimes went about ſeveral little Salt Water Lakes, that were near our Fort, and found on the Banks a Sort of flat Fiſhes, like Turbots aſleep, which they ſtruck with *May* 1685

May 1685 with ſharp pointed Sticks, and they were good Food. Providence alſo ſhew'd us that there was Salt made by the Sun, upon ſeveral little Salt Water Pools there were in divers Places, for having obſerv'd that there grew on them a Sort of white Subſtance, like the Cream upon Milk, I took care every Day to ſend and fetch that Scum off, which prov'd to be a very white and good Salt, whereof I gather'd a Quantity, and it did us good Service.

Salt found in Pools.

Some of our Hunters having ſeen a Parcel of wild Goats running as if they were frighted, judg'd they were purſued by the *Indians*, and came for Refuge to the Fort, and to give me Notice. Accordingly ſome Time after, we diſcover'd a Parcel of Natives, who came and poſted themſelves on an Eminence, within Cannon Shot, ſome of them drew off from the reſt and approach'd the Fort by the Way of the Downs. I cauſed our Men immediately to handle their Arms, and wet Blankets to be laid on our Huts, to prevent their being burnt by the Fire the Savages ſometimes ſhoot with their Arrows. All this Time thoſe who had ſeparated themſelves from the reſt, being three in Number, ſtill drew nearer, making Signs for us to go to them; but Monſieur *de la Sale* had forbid me having any Commerce with them; however, ſince they had neither Bows nor Arrows, we made ſigns to them to draw near, which they did without heſitating.

Indians *come to the Fort.*

We went out to meet them, Monſieur *Moranget* made them ſit down, and they gave us to underſtand by Signs, that their People were hunting near us; being able to make no more of what they ſaid, Monſieur *Moranget* was for knocking

knocking out their Brains, to revenge their having murder'd our Companions, but I would not conſent to it, ſince they had come confiding in us. I made Signs to them to be gone, which they did as faſt as they could, ſome ſmall Shot we fir'd into the Air making them run, and a Cannon Shot, I pointed towards the riſing Ground, where the reſt were, put them all to Flight. *June* 1685

Theſe Accidents made us double our Guards, ſince we were at open War with that crafty Nation, which let ſlip no Opportunity to ſurprize us, and therefore Penalties were appointed for ſuch as ſhould be found aſleep upon Sentinel; the Wooden-Horſe was ſet up for them without Remiſſion; and by Means of ſuch Precautions we ſav'd our Lives.

Thus we ſpent the reſt of the Month, till the Beginning of *June*. In the mean Time, Monſieur *de la Sale* had begun to make another Settlement, in the Place he before told us of, looking upon it as better, becauſe it was further up the Country. To that Purpoſe he ſent to us the Sieur *de Villeperdry* with two Canoes and Orders for the Sieur *Moranget* to repair to him, if he were recover'd, and that all the Men ſhould march, except 30 of the ableſt to make a good Defence, who were to ſtay with me in the Fort. The reſt being ſeventy Perſons, as well Men and Women as Children, ſet out with the Sieur *Moranget*; and we being but a ſmall Number remaining, I cauſed the Fort to be brought into a leſs Compaſs, to ſave poſting ſo many Sentinels. *Second Settlement*

Our little Company began to take Satisfaction in the Eaſe of getting and the Nature of our Proviſions

July 1685

A Conſpiracy diſcover'd.

Proviſions, which a greater Number has more Difficulty to be ſupply'd with, and which we had Plenty of, by Means of Hunting and Fiſhing, thoſe being our principal Employments, and we liv'd well enough contented, expecting to be remov'd. However there were ſome Malecontents, who reſolv'd to deſert; but finding a Difficuly to put it in Execution, for that they could neither get Arms, nor Powder nor Ball, because the Sieur *le Gros* and I kept all lock'd up, and were very vigilant, that none might be laviſhly ſpent, they took the cruel Reſolution to rid themſelves of us.

That bloody Maſſacre was to begin by me, when I was aſleep, and then to proceed to the Sieur *le Gros*, who lay in the Magazine, or Warehouſe, and was in no Condition to defend himſelf, becauſe his Leg was ſtill ſwolen, and put him to much Pain. The Execution was to be by ſtabbing. One of the Conſpirators reveal'd this to the Sieur *Davault*, a Hunter, who immediately came and accquainted me. I did not juſt then take Notice of what I had been told; but in the Evening, when they return'd from hunting, I cauſed one to be ſecur'd, who preſently confeſs'd all. His Accomplice was alſo ſeiz'd, and it was very troubleſom to ſecure them till the Time when we ſhould remove.

About the Middle of *July*, the Bark *la Belle* came and anchor'd near us. An Order was brought me from Monſieur *de la Sale*, directing me to put aboard it all the Effects that were in our Fort, to make a Float of the Timber I had cauſed to be ſquar'd, if Time would permit, if not to bury it in the Ground. Every Man ſet his

his Hand to the Work, with all poſſible Diligence, and our two Priſoners were put aboard, as was alſo Monſieur *le Gros* and his Surgeon, with all our Effects. *July* 1685

The Float was begun with immenſe Labour; but the Weather proving very Stormy, and holding very long, I was oblig'd to cauſe what had been done to be taken in Pieces, and to bury the Timber in the Sand, the beſt we could, that the Natives might not find it.

The firſt Fort abandon'd.

We then ſet out towards the Place where the *Indians* had been encamp'd, when Monſieur *de la Sale* went the firſt time to ſee them. We found no Creature, and lay there that Night. and ſo proceeded along the Sea Coaſt, without any Accident, to the Camp of the Sieur *Hurie*, which was a Poſt in the Way, where Monſieur *de la Sale* had order'd all our Effects to be laid up. It had no other Incloſure but Cheſts and Barrels; but there was nothing to fear from the *Europeans*.

Ill poſture of the 2d. Settlement

We ſpent the Night at that Poſt, and two Canoes coming thither the next Morning, I went aboard one of them, with Part of my Company, and join'd Monſieur *de la Sale* the next Day, at the Place where he had reſolv'd to make his new Settlement. I gave him an Account of all that had happen'd, and was amaz'd to ſee Things ſo ill begun and ſo little advanc'd. As for the Plantation, the Seed and Grain put into the Ground, was either loſt through Drought, or eaten by Birds or Beaſts. There were ſeveral Dead, and among them the Sieur *de Villeperdry*; many ſick, and of that Number Monſieur *Cavalier* the Prieſt; no Shelter but a little ſquare Place ſtak'd in, where the Powder

July 1685 Powder was and ſome Casks of Brandy; many other Inconveniences there were, which made all Things appear in a miſerable Condition.

It was requiſite to think of building a large Lodgment, Monſieur *de la Sale* deſign'd it, but the Difficulty was to get proper Timber for Building. There was a little Wood, where a good Quantity might be had, but it was a League up the Country, and we had neither Carts nor Horſes to carry it; however Monſr. *de la Sale* ſent Workmen thither, with others to guard them. The Trees were cut down and squar'd, but the Carpenters were ſo ignorant, that Monſr. *de la Sale* was forc'd to act the Maſter Builder, and to mark out the Pieces for the Work he deſign'd. Some of thoſe Pieces of Timber were dragg'd to the Camp, over the Graſs and Weeds the Plain was cover'd with; afterwards the Carriage of a Gun was made uſe of; but all coſt ſo much Labour, that the ableſt Men were quite ſpent.

Hard Labour.

This exceſſive Toil, the poor Suſtenance the labouring Men had, and that often retrench'd as a Penalty for having fail'd in doing their Duty; the Uneaſineſs Monſieur *de la Sale* was under to ſee nothing ſucceed as he had imagin'd, and which often made him inſult the Men, when there was little Reaſon for it; All theſe things together afflicted very many ſo ſenſibly, that they viſibly declin'd, and above thirty dy'd. The Loſs of ſo many Men was follow'd by that of the Maſter Carpenter, who was returning one Evening with me; but I happening to ſtep aſide to kill ſome wild Fowl, when I came to our Habitation I found him not, and it was never known what became of him; an Accident

Carpenter loſt.

Accident which added to our Vexation, for tho' he had but little Skill at his Trade, yet we ſtood in Need of him. *Aug.* 1685

Notwithſtanding all thoſe Diſappointments, enough Timber was carry'd or rather dragg'd, to build the Houſe Monſieur *de la Sale* deſign'd, and he was himſelf the Architect. He mark'd out the Lengths, the Tenants and Mortiſes, and made good the Defect of the Workmen and calling to Mind that I had bury'd ſeveral Pieces of Timber at our firſt Habitation, which might be of Uſe, he order'd me to take two Canoes and 20 men, to go fetch them, in the Bark *la Belle*, which was with us.

Being come to the Place, we found the Natives had diſcover'd our Timber, and carry'd away ſome Planks, to pick out the Nails there were in them, which they value very much, to point their Arrows. We labour'd to make a Float, loaded the Bark *la Belle* with the reſt of the Planks and other Effects, and ſet out again. Some of the Natives appear'd whilſt we were at Work, but ſeeing us advance towards them, with our Arms in our Hands, they fled.

Second Settlement.

We return'd ſafe to Monſieur *de la Sale*, who was glad to ſee us, tho' we had loſt one of the Canoes, for want of its being well made faſt to the Float; but the Timber we brought was a mighty help towards carrying on his Deſign, and much fitter than that we had hew'd in the Wood, with ſo much Labour; ſo that this Timber occaſion'd the raiſing another Structure contiguous to the former. All was cover'd with Planks, and Bullocks Hides over them. The Apartments were divided, and all of them well cover'd.

Sep. 1685 cover'd. The Stores had a Place apart, and that Dwelling had the name of St. *Lewis* given it, as well as the Neighbouring Bay.

The Sieur *le Gros*, who had remain'd aboard the Bark *le Belle*, ever ſince the firſt Voyage ſhe made to our former Habitation, was carry'd aſhore to the new One, and his Leg ſtill ſwelling, the Surgeon was apprehenſive of a Mortification, and advis'd him to conſent to have it cut off. He did ſo, tho' with Regret, the Operation was made, but a Fever follow'd immediately, and he liv'd but two Days, dying on the Feaſt of the Decollation of St. *John Baptiſt*, much lamented by all Men, and particularly by Monſieur *de la Sale*, to whom he was very ſerviceable, by reaſon of his general Knowledge, and his particular Fidelity towards him. Monſieur *Carpentier*, Son to the Maſter of the Works and the Sieur *Thibault*, both of *Roan*, and ſome others, dy'd about the ſame time.

Mr. le Gros *dies and others*

Monſieur *de la Sale* being deſirous to take a Progreſs, to find his fatal *Miſſiſipi* River, and only expecting the Recovery of his Brother Monſieur *Cavalier*, who was to bear him Company, he began to make ſome Preparations towards it, and in the mean time, took ſome ſmall Journeys of four or five Leagues about, but could learn nothing further, than that it was a very fine Country, hem'd in on one Side by a ſmall Mountain, which appear'd at about Fifteen or Twenty Leagues diſtance; beautify'd with very fine Trees, and water'd by many little Rivers, whereof that, on which we had built our Habitation was the leaſt. We call'd it *la Riviere aux Bœufs*, that is the River of Bullocks, by reaſon of the great Number

River of Bullocks.

ber of them there was about it. Theſe Bullocks are very like ours, there are Thouſands of them, but inſtead of Hair they have a very long curl'd Sort of Wool. *Sep.* 1685

Monſieur *de la Sale* Studying all Ways to find out the River *Miſſiſipi*, imagin'd it might fall into the adjacent Bay, and reſolv'd to go view all the Coaſts about it, and to make uſe of the Bark *la Belle*. Accordingly he order'd me to repair to the ſaid Bark, with five Men and a Canoe, into which he put his Cloaths, and other Effects in ſeveral Cheſts.

That ſhort Voyage was very troubleſome to us, by reaſon of the foul Weather, with contrary Winds and Storms, which had like to have overwhelm'd us, and what was ſtill worſe, we did not find the Bark, where we had left her. We went on a League further, to no Purpoſe, and Proviſions beginning to fall ſhort, becauſe we had been ſix Days on the Way, inſtead of three, we resolv'd to return to the Place from whence we came.

Monſieur *de la Sale* ſeeing us return at a diſtance, came to meet us. Our Report troubled him for the Bark, which he ſtood in need of, ſo that he reſolv'd to go himſelf to ſeek her, imbark'd in a Canoe, and ſent me another Way, in another. After having wander'd about all that Day, the next Night and the Day following, we at laſt perceiv'd her, where ſhe lay under Shelter in a little Creek, having been in Danger of Periſhing by the foul Weather we had been in, and had loſt her Boat, which was not well made faſt.

Boat of the Bark loſt.

The

Oct. 1685

The Bark was alſo diſcover'd by Monſieur *de la Sale*, who was on the other ſide, which made him draw near and land, whence he ſent his Canoe to the ſaid Bark, and Monſieur *Moranget* who commanded it, went aboard to meet him. The Loſs of the Boat troubled Monſieur *de la Sale*, I ſent a Canoe to bring him, but to no Purpoſe; however the Trunks were put aboard the Bark.

What Stores they had.

Monſieur *Cavalier* the Prieſt, being recover'd, Monſieur *de la Sale* prepar'd to ſet out with all Speed. He was pleas'd to Honour me with the Command, during his Abſence, and left me an Inventory of all that was in our Habitation, conſiſting of Eight Pieces of Cannon, two Hundred Firelocks, as many Cutlaces, an Hundred Barrels of Powder, three Thouſand Weight of Ball, about three Hundred Weight of other Lead, ſome Bars of Iron, twenty Packs of Iron to make Nails, ſome Iron Work and Tools, as Hatchets and the like.

As for Proviſions, all that were left me amounted to twenty Casks of Meal, one Cask and a half of Wine, three Quarters of a Cask of Brandy, and for living Creatures ſome few Swine, a Cock and a Hen; which is very ſhort of what has been Publiſh'd by the Author of a Book entituled, *The firſt Eſtabliſhment in New France*: but the Reaſon of it is, that he compiled his Work upon the Credit of Relations, which were as falſe as to the Point of the Ammunition and Proviſions, remaining in our Habitation, when Monſieur *de la Sale* ſet out that Time, as concerning the Fort well condition'd, and the Magazines or Storehoſes under Ground, which are all imaginary, there being Nothing but the Houſe

Houſe I have mention'd, palliſado'd, with ſome old Stakes. *Nov.* 1685

Monſr. *de la Sale* farther order'd me not to receive any Men of thoſe he took along with him, unleſs they brought an Order from him in Writing; nor to hold or admit of any Communication with the Natives, but rather to fire upon them, and ſome other Particulars he thought fit to be obſerv'd. He had made himſelf a Coat of Mail with ſmall Laths, to ſecure himſelf againſt the Arrows, which he took along with him, he alſo took the Canoes, and promis'd to ſend me one back. Five Cannon Shot were the Signal of his Departure.

Monſr. de laSale *goes out to diſcover.*

He took his Way along the lower Part of the River, to march by Land along the neighbouring Bay, which was call'd of St. *Lewis*, the Canoes keeping within Sight. I was left in the Habitation with thirty four Perſons, Men, Women and Children, and of that Number were three *Recolet* Friars, the Sieur *Hurie*, who was to command in my Abſence, one of the Sieurs *Duhaut*, the Sieurs *Thibault* and a Surgeon.

St. Lewis's *Bay.*

Our Proviſions being very ſmall, and it being requiſite to ſpare them, for the Sick, we were oblig'd to apply our ſelves to Fiſhing and Shooting. Both of them at firſt prov'd very unſucceſsful, eſpecially the latter; becauſe we were not yet well vers'd in them, and Monſieur *de la Sale* had taken our Huntſman along with him; but at length, Neceſſity made us more expert. We kill'd Beeves, ſome of which I caus'd to be dry'd, and they were a conſiderable Help to ſubſiſt us.

Some

Nov. 1685 Some Days after, the Canoe Monſieur *de la Sale* had promis'd me, arrived with three Soldiers, who brought us the News of the Loſs of the Huntſman Monſieur *de la Sale* had taken along with him, and who had been found dead with Cold in a Ditch, where he had lain down to reſt after hunting, which troubled us all very much. They alſo inform'd us, that Monſr. *de la Sale* advancing towards ſome Dwellings the Natives had abandon'd, after a ſmall Reſiſtance, ſome of whom had been wounded as they fled, they had taken and brought a Girl and a Woman, who was ſhot thro' the Thigh, of which ſhe dy'd.

Hunter dies with Cold.

Dec. 1685 The Canoe was a great Help to us to carry what we kill'd, which being brought to our Habitation, found Employment for all Perſons, ſome to flea, others to cut up, and others to dry it. At other Times, I ſet ſome of our Men to throw up a Trench about our Habitation.

Jan. 1686 Thus we ſpent our Time, till about the Middle of *January*, 1686, when being all, one Evening, in our Manſion, the Sentinel came in to acquaint me, that he heard a Voice towards the River; ſome men ran thither immediately, and found a Man in a Canoe, crying, *Dominick*, which was the Name of young *Duhaut*, who was with us. The Sight of that made me apprehenſive leſt ſome Diſaſter was befallen Monſr. *de la Sale*. I drew near, and perceiv'd it was *Duhaut* the Elder, that was return'd.

I ask'd, him whether he had any Letters from Monſieur *de la Sale*, he anſwer'd, he had not. It gave me some Uneaſineſs, conſidering I was forbid admitting any Man without an Or-

Order in Writing, and I was almoſt reſolv'd to ſecure him; but the Account he gave me of the Occaſion of his returning wholly clear'd him. I admitted him, and he told me the whole Matter as follows. *Jan.* 1686 Duhaut *returns from Mr.* de laSale.

Monſr. *de la Sale*, having ſtaid ſome Time on the Sea Shore, near the Place where the Bark was at Anchor he reſolv'd to try the Anchoring Places of the Coaſts round about, to know how near the Bark *le Belle* might come. To that Purpoſe he ſent the Pilot with 5 of the beſt Men to ſound.

The Pilot did as he was order'd, he ſounded and obſerved the proper Places to come near ſeveral Coaſts. At Night he and his Men being in all likelyhood tir'd, they thought fit to go Aſhore and lie upon the Land. They made a Fire, perhaps to dreſs ſome Meat; but neglecting to ſtand upon their Guard, they were ſurpriz'd, and all ſix of them kill'd by the Savages; who alſo broke their Canoe, and thus reveng'd themſelves for the Irruption Monſr. *de la Sale* had lately made among them. *Six Men killed by Natives.*

More Time being elaps'd than Monſieur *de la Sale* had allotted thoſe Men to return, he grew uneaſy, and went himſelf along the Coaſt, to ſee if any News could be had of them, and keeping along the Shore, he found the ſad Remains of thoſe unfortunate Wretches, whoſe Carcaſſes ſcatter'd about, were torn and almoſt devour'd by Wolves or Wild Dogs, a Spectacle which went to his Heart.

However this Loſs, which afflicted him, and particularly for the Sake of the Pilot, who was an able Man, did not quite caſt him down; but exerting himſelf againſt his Misfortunes, he caus'd

Jan. 1686 caus'd Fleſh to be dry'd, and with that and the other Proviſions he victuall'd the Bark *la Belle*. He caus'd it to advance into the Bay, put a good Number of Men on Board to ſecure it, among whom were Monſieur *Chedeville*, the Prieſt, and *Planteroſe* of *Roan*, and order'd them not to ſtir from that Place till they heard from him, and not to go Aſhore, unleſs with a good Guard and neceſſary Precautions.

Next, he choſe out Twenty Men, imbark'd on two Canoes he had left, and being come Aſhore, caus'd the Canoes to be ſunk in the River, and every Man to take up his Bundle, conſiſting of Arms, Tools, ſome Utenſils for the Kitchin, a few Goods, to trade with the Natives, if he ſhould find any ſociable, and ſo advanc'd into the Country, to try if any Notice could be had of the *Miſſiſipi*.

La Maligne *River.*

After ſeveral Days March, they came to a good pleaſant River, which they afterwards call'd *la Maligne*. Monſieur *de la Sale* marching at the Head of the Company, and having order'd Monſieur *Moranget* to keep in the Rear; it happen'd that *Duhaut* ſtopping to mend his Snapſack and his Shoes, which were in a bad Condition; the Sieur *Moranget* coming up, commanded him to March, he deſired him to ſtay a little. *Moranget* would not, but held on his Way; *Duhaut* follow'd ſome Time after, but having ſtay'd too long, he could not overtake the Company, and found himſelf about Night fall in a Plain full of Weeds, where there were ſeveral Tracks of the Way Cattle had gone, but knew not which of them to take. He fir'd his Piece ſeveral Times, without hearing

ing any thing of his Company, and was oblig'd to paſs the Night in that ſame Place. *Feb.* 1686

In the Morning he ſhot again, ſpent the Day and Night again in that Place, ſo that not knowing what to do, he return'd the ſame Way he had gone, and after a Month's March, for he travell'd only by Night, for Fear of meeting with the Savages, living upon what he kill'd with much Difficulty and Danger, having before ſpent all his own Proviſions; at length after moſt unaccountable Hardſhips and Sufferings, he arriv'd at the Place where the Canoes had been ſunk. He took one of them up, with incredible Labour, and too long to relate, and ſo came to our Habitation of St. *Lewis*. Thus it pleas'd God that he who was to be one of the Murderers of Monſieur *de la Sale*, ſhould come off ſafe, and ſurmount almoſt infinite Dangers. *Strange Adventure*

This Account, which ſeem'd to carry the Face of Probability, prevail'd with me to receive the Sieur *Duhaut*, and in Reality I could do no otherwiſe, and I made it my Buſineſs to examine into his Behaviour, but could find Nothing to lay to his Charge. We continued ſome Time longer as we had been before; during the which, I caus'd another little Wooden Structure to be made, of Timber, I had got together, and in it I lodg'd the Women and Maidens by themſelves. Having hitherto ſaid Nothing of the Situation of our Dwelling of St. *Lewis*, nor of the Nature of the Country we were in, I will here venture upon a plain but true Deſcription.

We were in about the 27th Degree of North Latitude, two Leagues up the Country, near the

Feb. 1686 the Bay of St. *Lewis* and the Bank of the River *aux Bœufs*, on a little Hillock, whence we diſcover'd vaſt and beautiful Plains, extending very far to the Weſtward, all level and full of Greens, which afford Paſture to an infinite Number of Beeves and other Creatures.

Deſcription of the Country and Dwelling at St. Lewis.

The Land. Turning from the Weſt to the Southward, there appear'd other Plains adorn'd with ſeveral little Woods of ſeveral Sorts of Trees. Towards the South and Eaſt was the Bay, and the Plains that hem it in from the Eaſt; to the Northward, was the River running along by a little Hill, beyond which there were other large Plains, with ſome little Tufts of Wood at ſmall Diſtances, terminating in a Border of Wood, which ſeem'd to us to be very high.

Living Creatures. Between that little Hill and our Dwelling, was a Sort of Marſh, and in it Abundance of wild Foul, as Curlies, Water-Hens and other Sorts. In the Marſh there were little Pools full of Fiſh. We had alſo an infinite Number of Beeves, wild Goats, Rabbits, Turkeys, Buſtards, Geeſe, Swans, Feldifares, Plovers, Teal, Partridges and many other Sorts of Fowl fit to eat, and among them one call'd *le grand Goſier*, or, the great Gullet, becauſe it has a very large one; another as big and Fleſhy as a Pullet, which we called the *Spatula*, becauſe it's Beak is ſhap'd like one, and the Feathers of it being of a pale Red, are very beautiful.

Fiſh. As for Fiſh, we had ſeveral Sorts in the River and in the Lakes I have mention'd. The River afforded a Sort of Barbles, differing from ours in Roundneſs, in their having three Bones ſticking out, one on the Back, the others on each Side of the Head, and in the Fleſh, which is

is like Cod, and without Scales. The River ſupply'd us with Abundance of other Fiſhes, whoſe Names we know not. The Sea afforded us Oyſters, Eeles, Trouts, a Sort of red Fiſhes and others whose long, ſharp and hard Beak tore all our Nets. *Feb.* 1686

We had Plenty both of Land and Sea Tortoiſes, whoſe Eggs ſerv'd to ſeaſon our Sauces. The Land Tortoiſes differ from thoſe of the Sea, as being ſmaller, round, and their Shell more beautiful. They hide themſelves in Holes they find or make in the Earth. It was looking for these Tortoiſes, that one of our Surgeons, thruſt his Arm into a Hole, and was bit by ſome venomous Creature, which we ſuppos'd to be a Sort of Toad, having four Feet, the Top of his Back ſharp and very hard, with a little Tail. Whether it was this Creature, or a Snake, his Arm ſwelled very much, however he was cured by ſuch Applications as were made Uſe of; but it coſt him a Finger was cut off. *Tortoiſes.* *Venomous Creatures.*

Among the venomous Sorts of Snakes, as Vipers, Aſps and others, whereof there are many, thoſe call'd Rattle-Snakes are the moſt common. They generally lye among the Brambles, where they make a Noiſe by the Motion of two Scales they have at the End of their Tail, which is heard at a conſiderable Diſtance, and therefore they are call'd Rattle-Snakes. Some of our Men had eaten of them and found their Fleſh was not amiſs, and when we had kill'd any of them, our Swine made a good Meal. *Rattle-Snakes.*

There

Feb. 1686

Alligators. There are alſo many Alligators in the Rivers, ſome of them of a frightful Magnitude and Bulk. I kill'd one that was between four and five Foot about, and twenty Foot in Length, on which our Swine feaſted. This Creature has very ſhort Legs, inſomuch that it rather drags along than walks, and it is eaſy to follow the Tract of it, either among the Weeds or on the Sands, where it has been. It is very ravenous, and attacks either Men or Beaſts, when they are within Reach in the River, and comes alſo aſhore to ſeek for Food. It has this particular Quality, that it flies from ſuch as purſue, and purſues thoſe who fly from it. I have ſhot many of them dead.

Trees. The Woods are compoſed of Trees of ſeveral Sorts. There are Oaks, ſome of them ever green and never without Leaves; others like ours in *Europe*, bearing a Fruit much like our Galls, and loſe their Leaves in Winter, and another Sort not unlike ours in *France*, but the Bark of them thicker, theſe as well as the ſecond Sort bear an Acorn, differing from ours both in Taſte and Bigneſs.

There is a Sort of Tree, which bears ſmall Berries, which, when ripe, are red, and indifferent pleaſant. It bears twice a Year, but the ſecond Crop never ripens. There is another Tree, bearing a Fruit not unlike *Caſſia*, in Taſte and Virtue.

There are others of the Sort I had ſeen in the Iſlands, whoſe Leaves are like Rackets, whence the Tree bears the Name. The Bloſſoms grow out about the Leaves, and of them comes a

Dangerous Fruit. Fruit ſomewhat reſembling Figs, but the Leaves and the Fruit are full of Prickles, which muſt be

be carefully rubb'd and taken off, before it is eaten, elſe they dangerouſly inflame the Mouth and the Throat, and may prove mortal, as happen'd to one of our Soldiers, who had eaten of them too greedily, and without that Precaution. *Feb.* 1685

I have ſeen ſome Trees reſembling the Palm, whoſe lofty and long Branches ſpread like that call'd the *Latanier*, bearing a Fruit, ſaid to be indifferent good. Others the ſame Sort, but whoſe Leaves are like Gutters, harſh and ſo ſharp pointed, that they will pierce the thickeſt Stuffs. This Tree has a Sprout on the Top, which ſhoots out Flowers in the Shape of a Noſegay, of a whitiſh yellow, and ſome of them at the Top of that Sprout have ſixty or eighty Flowers hanging down, not unlike the Flower de Luce, and after thoſe Flowers follows a Fruit as long as a Man's Finger, and thicker than the Thumb, full of little Seeds, ſo that there is ſcarce any Thing but the Rhind fit to eat, the Taſte whereof is ſweet and delicate.

There are Abundance of creeping Vines and others, that run up the Bodies and to the Tops of Trees, which bear plenty of Grapes, fleſhy and ſharp, not to compare to the Delicacy of ours in *Europe*; but we made Verjuice of them, which was very good in Sauce. Mulberry Trees are numerous along the Rivers, their Fruit is ſmaller, but ſweeter and more delicious than ours; their Leaves are beautiful and large, which would be of good Uſe for feeding of Silkworms. *Vines.*

The Plains are ſtrew'd with a Sort of ſmall Sorrel, the Leaf whereof is like Trefoil, and the Taſte of it ſharp like ours. There are A- *Plants.*

bundance

Feb. 1686 bundance of ſmall Onions, no bigger than the Top of a Man's Finger, but very well taſted, and when the Heat has ſcorch'd up the Plains, that Plant ſhoots out firſt, and produces Flowers which look like an agreeable Enamel. Nothing is more beautiful than to behold those vaſt Plains, when the Bloſſoms appear; a thouſand Sorts of different Colours, whereof many have an agreeable Scent, adorn thoſe Fields, and afford a moſt charming Object to the Eye. I have obſerved ſome that ſmelt like a Tuberoſe, but the Leaf reſembles our Borage. I have ſeen Primroſes, having a Scent like ours, *African* Gilliflowers, and a Sort of purple wind Flowers. The Autumn Flowers are almoſt all of them yellow, ſo that the Plains look all of that Colour.

The Climate is mild and temperate, tho' we were in about 27 Degrees of North Latitude, and yet the Seeds I cauſed to be ſow'd did not thrive; whether it was becauſe they had been ſoak'd in the Sea Water, or for any other Reaſon. Some came up pretty well, as Pompions, Melons, Parſnips and Endive; but the Beaſts and the Inſects, left us not much. When we come to the *Cenis* and have traverſs'd ſo many Nations as lay between us and them, I ſhall ſpeak of the Religion, Manners, Cloathing, Houſes and Cuſtoms of the Natives, wherin they differ but little from one another, tho' of ſeveral Countries.

Monſieur *de la Sale* had been now long gone, and we began to be in Pain for him, when about the Middle of *March* 1686, hapning to be on the Top of the Houſe, I ſpied ſeven or eight Perſons coming towards us. I preſently ordered eight arm'd Men to follow me, to go

go meet them; and as ſoon as we drew near them, we knew Monſieur *de la Sale*, Monſieur *Cavelier*, his brother, Monſieur *Moranget*, his Nephew and five or ſix Men with them, the reſt being gone another Way to find out the Bark *la Belle*, to give Notice of Monſieur *de la Sale*'s Arrival. *March* 1686

They were in a bad Condition, their Cloaths ragged, Monſieur *Cavelier*'s ſhort Caſſock hung in Tatters; moſt of them had not Hats, and their Linen was no better; however the Sight of Monſieur *de la Sale* rejoyc'd us all. The Account he gave us of his Journey reviv'd our Hopes, tho' he had not found the fatal River, and we thought only of making ourſelves as merry as we could. Only the Sight of the Sieur *Duhaut* interrupted it for ſome Time. Monſieur *de la Sale* ask'd me in an angry Manner, why I had receiv'd him, and *Duhaut* having given his Reaſons, as I and my Men did, we were all ſatisfy'd. *Monſieur* de la Sale *returns.*

The next Day, the Sieurs *le Barbier*, *Biborel*, *le Petit*, *Cavelier*, the Nephew, the Surgeon and others, whom Monſieur *de la Sale* had ſent to find out and carry Advice to the Bark *la Belle*, return'd, and ſaid they could not find her, which was another freſh Cauſe of Much Uneaſineſs to Monſieur *de la Sale*. He had been guilty of the Fault of putting aboard her, his Cloaths, his Linen, his Papers and all his beſt Effects, of all which he was then in the utmoſt Need. Beſides, that Loſs broke all the Meaſures he had concerted during his laſt Expedition, becauſe he had reſolv'd to cauſe the ſaid Bark to go up one of the Rivers he had diſcover'd, to advance towards thoſe Nations with whom he had con- *The Bark* la Belle *loſt.*

March 1686 contracted ſome Friendſhip, and to ſend me in the ſame Bark, with his Nephew *Moranget*, to the Iſlands to ſeek for ſome Aſſiſtance, or elſe to return by Sea to look for his River.

All theſe Deſigns being diſappointed, he reſolv'd to ſet out a ſecond Time, and travel by Land, to find out his River. He ſtaid to reſt him a while, and to provide for his Departure, but having neither Linen nor Cloaths, I ſupply'd him with ſome I had; I alſo afforded ſome Linen to Monſieur *Cavelier*, his Brother and Monſieur *Moranget*, his Nephew. All I had was at their Service, and I depriv'd myſelf of all that was fit for them, even to ten or twelve Pounds of Strings of Beads and ſome Knives and Nails, which Monſieur *de la Sale* took.

The Sieur *Duhaut*, having ſeveral Effects, as Linen, Hatchets and other Tools and Commodities, which had been ſav'd from the Shipwreck, Monſieur *de la Sale* took Linen to make Shirts, for ſuch as wanted, as alſo the Tools they ſtood in Need of. The Cloaths belonging to Meſſieurs *Thibault*, *le Gros* and *Carpentier*, who were dead, were alſo diſtributed. A great Belt I had, ſerv'd to make Shoes for Monſieur *de la Sale* and Monſieur *Cavelier*.

Monſieur de la Sale *ſets out upon another Expedition.*

All Things being thus provided, Monſieur *de la Sale* took twenty Men along with him, among whom were Monſieur *Cavelier* his Brother, F. *Anaſtaſius* a Recolet, Monſieur *Moranget* his Nephew, the Sieurs *Bihorel*, *le Clerk*, *Hurier*, *Duhaut* the younger, *Hiens* his Surgeon, and his Servants. He left behind thoſe, who were not fit to undertake that ſecond Journey, among whom were little Monſieur *Cavelier* his Nephew, the Sieur *Barbier*, *Canadien* and ſome others.

others. Each of the Travellers made up his Pack, and they ſet out towards the latter End of *April* 1686, after having given me the neceſſary Orders, and we parted without Ceremony, Monſieur *de la Sale* deſiring it ſhould be ſo. *Apr.* 1686

Some Days after he was gone, I heard a Voice towards the lower Part of the River, crying twice *Qui vive*, or who are you for. I made that Way, and perceiv'd the Sieur *Chedeville* a Prieſt, the Sieur *de la Sablonniere*, and ſome others of thoſe who had been put aboard the Bark *la Belle*, and were now in a Canoe. I ask'd abruptly what was become of the Bark, and was inform'd, our continual Misfortunes ſtill purſuing us, that it had run aground on the other Side of the Bay. I cauſed the Canoe to be unloaded, there being in it, among other Things, Monſieur *de la Sale*'s Cloaths, Part of his Papers, ſome Linen, a ſmall Quantity of Beads and thirty or forty Pound of Meal, which was all they had left. *What was ſaved of the Bark* la Belle.

The next Day, Monſieur *de Chedeville* told me the Particulars of that Misfortune, and ſaid, That having been ſome Time with the Bark, in the Place where Monſieur *de la Sale* had appointed them to wait, their Water falling ſhort, they had thought fit to ſend the Boat aſhore, with four or five Casks to fill; that the Sieur *Planteroſe* went in it with ſix of the beſt Men. That towards the Evening they ſaw the Boat coming back, but the Wind being contrary and Night coming on, they put out a Light, which going out and the Captain neglecting to put up another, in all Likelyhood the Boat could not ſee the Bark, and they never heard of it after, nor *How the Bark was loſt.*

May 1686 nor of any of thoſe in it, who it was probable had all periſh'd.

That nevertheleſs, they continued ſome Days in the ſame Place, during which Time three or four of their Men died; and at laſt, having no Water, they eat up their Swine, before they died with Thirſt, and reſolv'd to weigh Anchor and draw near to the Dwelling; but having few Hands and thoſe ſpent, and to add to their Misfortune the Wind proving contrary, they were drove to the other Side of the Bay, where they run aground.

That having no Boat, nor Men enough to land their Effects, they had endeavour'd to make a Float with ſome Casks and Planks, but that being ill made and join'd together, the firſt that went upon it had periſh'd. That having made another Float better faſtned together than the firſt, they had by that Means ſaved ſome Sails and Rigging, ſeveral inconſiderable Things, Linen, Cloaths and Papers belonging to Monſieur *de la Sale* and others, and then ſtay'd Aſhore, expecting to hear ſome News, and had found a Canoe, being the ſame that was before loſt on the Edge of the Bay, which had been drove to the other Side; and that Proviſions at laſt beginning to fall ſhort, they went aboard the ſaid Canoe and came to us; fortunate in that they had not been diſcover'd by the Natives, during their Stay Aſhore, which was for the Space of three Months, and in finding the Canoe to bring them back.

When Monſieur *de la Sale* went away, the Sieur *Barbier* had taken upon him to go a hunting, as alſo to provide Bark to cover our Houſes, inſtead of Hides, becauſe the Sun drying and

and contracting them, Part of the Top of our Buildings was uncover'd. I farther enjoyn'd him to cut Stakes, to make a Paliſade about our Dwelling, and the Sieur *Chedeville* having told me they had bury'd ſeveral Things they could not bring away, I ſent the Sieur *Barbier* with two Canoes and fifteen Men to the Place, where they found ſome Pedreroes, Rigging and Sails. The Natives having diſcover'd the Concealment, had taken away ſome Pieces of Linen and Iron Tools, which they very much covet. *June* 1686

The Sieur *Barbier* after his Return, continuing his Exerciſe of hunting, happen'd to meet with a Parcel of the Natives, ſome of whom had Firelocks, which they had taken from our Men, and with which they made ſome Shots at him, but very weak; and he firing three or four Shot at them they retir'd. He was then in a Canoe on the River, and deſign'd to have gone upwards; but that Rancounter having oblig'd him to take another Way, and the Savages perceiving it, eight of them ſwam over the River, haſtening to get before the Canoe, hid themſelves among the Weeds, near the Way he was to paſs, and when he was near enough, let fly their Arrows, which wounded ſeveral Men. One Shot the Sieur *Barbier* made, put them all to Flight again; he held on his Way and return'd to our Habitation. *Encounter with the Natives.*

Some Days after, we perceiv'd a Herd of Bullocks flying, and gueſs'd they were purſu'd by the Savages, which afterwards appear'd to be true. Some of them drew near to our Habitation, but a Cannon Shot, I pointed towards the Gang of them, and a Musket-ſhot Monſieur

June 1686

ſieur *Barbier* fired at the neareſt, made them all fly farther off.

When the Sieur *Barbier* went out a Hunting, I commonly ſent with him ſome Women and Maids, to help the Hunters to dreſs and dry the Fleſh; but being inform'd that he us'd to ſlip aſide from the Company, with a young Maid he had a Kindneſs for, and which gave Occaſion to ſome well-grounded Railleries; the ſaid *Barbier* being told I was acquainted with that Affair, came and ſpoke to me in private, deſiring Leave to marry that young Woman, I made ſome Difficulty of it at firſt, adviſing him to ſtay till Monſieur *de la Sale* return'd; but at laſt, conſidering they might have anticipated upon Matrimony, I took the Advice of the Recolet Fathers, and of Monſieur *Chedeville* the Prieſt, and allowed them to marry. Monſieur *le Marquis de la Sabloniere* following this Example, ask'd the ſame Liberty, being in Love with a young Maid, which I abſolutely refus'd, and forbid them ſeeing one another.

The Sieur Barbier *marries.*

Some Time paſs'd in which Nothing happen'd to us worth obſerving; however, I will mention two Things which befell our Recolet Fathers. One was, That Father *Anaſtaſius*, being a hunting Bullocks with me, and coming too near one I had ſhot, and was fallen, the Beaſt, as much hurt as he was, ſtarted up, attack'd and threw him down; he had much ado to get off, and I to reſcue him, becauſe I durſt not ſhoot for Fear of killing him. The Bullock being weak, fell again; the Father was deliver'd, but lay ill ſome Months. The other was, That Father *Maximus* had writ ſome Memoirs

Accidents concerning the Recolets

moirs concerning Monſieur *de la Sale*'s Conduct, condemning him upon ſeveral Occaſions. I was told of it, found Means to get thoſe Memoirs, threw them into the Fire, and ſo the Father came off. *June* 1686

About the ſame Time, moſt of our Men ſeeing Monſieur *de la Sale* did not return, began to mutter. The Sieur *Duhaut*, who perhaps had been the firſt Fomenter of thoſe Diſcontents, back'd the Complaints of the diſguſted Party, promis'd them great Matters under his Conduct, and offer'd to ſupply them with ſuch Effects as he had in Poſſeſſion, endeavouring, as I ſuppoſe, by thoſe Means, to gain their Affections, for a miſchievous Deſign, which it is likely he had even then conceiv'd.

Duhaut *Endeavours to occaſion a Mutiny.*

It was not long before, I had Intimation of the whole Affair, and I had done Monſieur *de la Sale* a ſingular Piece of Service, had I then put to Death the Perſon, who was to be his Murderer; but I reſted ſatisfy'd with giving him a ſevere Reprimand, and threat'ning to cauſe him to be ſecur'd if he perſiſted, being able to do no other under my preſent Circumſtances. However, I talk'd to all concern'd, and put them in ſuch Hopes of Monſieur *de la Sale*'s Return, and that Things would ſoon change to their Satisfaction, that they were all pacify'd.

But in Regard, that Idleneſs often occaſions Uneaſineſs and Impatience, I us'd all poſſible Means to keep them employ'd, in the moſt obliging Manner I could, ſetting ſome to cut down the Buſhes about our Dwelling, others to hew down Trees, that hinder'd the Proſpect, others mow'd the Graſs, that freſh might grow up

June 1686 up for our Cattle, and at Night I made them divert themſelves with Dancing and Singing.

M. de la Sale's *Diſcoveries.*

Whilſt we thus paſs'd away the Time the beſt we could, Monſieur *de la Sale* had penetrated very far up into the Country, inclining towards the Northern Part of *Mexico.* He had travell'd through ſeveral Nations, the Inhabitants whereof were, for the moſt Part, ſociable, and had concluded a Sort of Alliance with them, and particularly with the *Cenis* and others whoſe names I ſhall mention. He had diſcover'd charming Countries abounding in all Things that could be wiſh'd, as well for Suſtenance, as for making of eaſy Settlements, and after he and his Nephew *Moranget* had eſcap'd two Dangerous Sickneſſes, he return'd to our Habitation, with five Horſes he had purchas'd, and arriv'd at it in *Auguſt* 1686.

His Return

Hearing of his Voice, I was one of the firſt that ran towards the River: We took our Canoes to bring him, his Luggage and ſome Proviſions over, and the Horſes ſwam. We were extraordinary glad to ſee our Commander in Chief return ſafe, tho' his Journey had not advanc'd his Deſign. Monſieur *de la Sale* had not found out his River, nor been towards the *Iſlinois* as we had hoped. Only eight Men return'd with him of twenty he carry'd out, and all the viſible advantage of that Journey conſiſted in five Horſes, laden with Indian Wheat, Beans and ſome other Grain, which was put into the Store.

7 Men loſt and 4 deſert.

Monſr. *de la Sale* ask'd me, as ſoon as he came, whether the Sieurs *Clerc*, *Hurie*, *Duhaut* the younger and two others were come, becauſe they

they not being able to endure the Fatigue of the Journey, he had given them Leave to return, and hearing they were not, he concluded the Savages had killed them. We were alſo inform'd, that the Sieur *Bihorel*, had ſtray'd and was loſt, ſo that there had been no News of him ſince; that one of Monſr. *de la Sale*'s Servants had been dragg'd down to the Bottom of the Water and devour'd by an Alligator, and that four others had deſerted and abandon'd Monſieur *de la Sale*, when he was about the Country of the *Cenis*. *Sept.* 1686

M. de la Sale *reſolves upon a third Expedition.*

This was a very diſmal and deplorable Account; but the even Temper of our Chief made all Men eaſy, and he found, by his great Vivacity of Spirit, Expedients, which reviv'd the loweſt Ebb of Hope. He rejoiced at the Return and Sight of M. *Chedeville*, he was pleas'd at the Recovering of his Cloaths and Part of his Papers; and after ſome Time of Reſt, he propos'd to undertake a Journey towards the *Iſlinois*, and to make it the main Buſineſs, by the Way, to find the *Miſſiſipi*; but it was thought proper to let the great Heats paſs, before that Enterprize was taken in Hand.

In the mean Time, he gave Orders to ſtake about a Place to make a New Magazine, or Storehouſe. He put to that Use the Timber I had caus'd to be cut, and would have more provided for the ſame Uſe. Detachments being ſent to work, ſeven or eight of our Men, who were ſent with the Sieur *Barbier*, were diſcover'd by the Savages, who being ſuperior in Number, made as if they would hem them in; but each of our Men having taken a Tree upon their Shoulders and fir'd their Pieces, which made

Oct. 1686 made one of the Natives drop, the others took him up and withdrew. Yet it was not long before they were reveng'd, for they kill'd us two Men, one of them cloſe by our Dwelling, and the other, who had ſeparated from the reſt of the Company to gather Purſlain, and could not be reliev'd.

Two Men kill'd.

There being every Day ſome Diſcourſe of the Journey to the *Iſlinois*, Monſieur *de la Sale* ask'd me one Day, whether I would make one of the Company, and go by the Way of *Canada* to *France* for Succours. I aſſured him I was entirely devoted to his Will, and would faithfully attend him. Then he began by Degrees to provide what he thought neceſſary for that Expedition. I had two Pair of Sheets, which he took, to make him Linen. Canvas Cloaths were made of the Sails of the Bark *la Belle*. The Sieur *Duhaut* having Linen, he took ſome to diſtribute among ſeveral Perſons. Thus he haſted on the Execution of his Deſign, but an Accident put it off.

Nov. 1686 It was occaſion'd by a Flux which troubled Monſieur *de la Sale*, who having told me he could not perform that Journey, as long as he continued in ſuch condition, I offer'd to undertake it for him, if he would allow me his *Indian*, and about fifteen Men; but he anſwer'd, That his Preſence was requiſite among the *Iſlinois*, and that it was requiſite his Brother ſhould go to *France*. Thus he refus'd my Offer, and could not ſhun the ill Fate of that Journey.

Dec. 1686 We ſpent ſome Time longer after this Manner, during the which, there aroſe a Controverſy about the Privileges the King grants to the Firſt-born of the *French* Colonies in *America*.

ca. The Sieur *Barbier*'s wife was with Child, and he claim'd the Privilege granted for that Child. The Widow *Talon* had a Child born in the Paſſage from *France* to *America*, and alledg'd, that her Child, tho' born before our Arrival, ought to be preferr'd; but the Sieur *Barbier*'s Wife miſcarrying, the Diſpute was not decided. *Jan.* 1687

Controverſy about Privilege.

Monſieur *de la Sale* being recover'd of his Indiſpoſition, Preparations were again made for his Journey; but we firſt kept the *Chriſtmas* Holy-Days. The Midnight Maſs was ſolemnly ſung, and on *Twelve-Day*, we cry'd, *The King drinks*, (*according to the Cuſtom of* France) tho' we had only Water: When that was over we began to think of ſetting out. Monſieur *de la Sale* gave the Command of the Settlement to the Sieur *Barbier*, directing him what he was to do and obſerve in his Abſence.

Who were left in the Settlement when M. de la Sale *departed.*

There remain'd in that Habitation, the Fathers *Maximus* and *Zenobius*, Recolets, Monſieur *Chedeville*, the Prieſt, the Marquis *de la Sablonniere*, the Sieur *Barbier*, Commander, his Wife, a Surgeon and others, to the Number of twenty, among whom were ſeven Women, or Maids, and only the Sieur *Barbier* marry'd; which is much ſhort of the Number ſome have given out remain'd in the Dwelling, without any Ground; for the Truth is, there were no more, and particularly no Natives, Monſieur *de la Sale* having abſolutely forbid holding any Communication with them. As for Beaſts, they amounted to ſeventy, or ſeventy five Swine, great and ſmall, which was a good Stock; for Fowl, eighteen or twenty Hens; ſome Casks of Meal, which was

Jan. 1687 was kept for the Sick; Powder, Ball, and eight Pieces of Cannon, without any Bullets.

Perſons that ſet out with M. de la Sale.

We ſet out the 12th of *January*, in the Year 1687, being ſeventeen in Number, *viz.* Monſieur *de la Sale*, Monſieur *Cavelier*, the Prieſt, his Brother, Father *Anaſtaſius*, the Recolet, Meſſieurs *Moranget* and *Cavelier*, Nephews to Monſieur *de la Sale*, the Sieurs *Duhaut*, the Elder, *l'Arcleveque*, *Hiens*, *Liotot*, Surgeon, young *Talon*, an *Indian*, and a Footman belonging to Monſieur *de la Sale*, &c. We carried along with us Part of the beſt Things every Man had, and what was thought would be of Uſe, wherewith the five Horſes were loaded, and we took our Leaves with ſo much Tenderness and Sorrow, as if we had all preſaged, that we ſhould never ſee each other more. Father *Zenobius* was the Perſon who expreſs'd it to me moſt ſignificantly, ſaying, He had never been ſo ſenſibly touch'd at parting with any Body.

The Way they travell'd.

We went that Day to the Place we call'd *le Boucon*, becauſe there, we had often dry'd Fleſh, (*which the French call* Boucanner *from the Indian Word*) This Place was not far from our Habitation. The 13th, we croſs'd a Plain, about two Leagues over, where we ſaw ſeveral Herds of Beeves and Flocks of Goats, Turkeys, Buſtards, and other Sorts of Wild Fowl. We met with Marſhy Lands, which tired our Horſes, and came to a Wood that terminates the Plain, across which, runs a Branch of a River, full of Reeds, by Monſieur *de la Sale* call'd the *Princeſs*'s River. That Branch joins the other, and they both fell together into the Bay of St. *Lewis*.

We

We kill'd five Beeves at the Entrance into the Wood, forded the River, and incamp'd Half a League beyond it, whence Monſieur *de la Sale* ſent Men with the Horſes, to bring the Fleſh of the Bullocks we had kill'd; the Hides of them, which ſerv'd to cover us, being very uſeful againſt a violent Shower of Rain that fell. *Jan.* 1687

The 14th, the Rain ceaſing, we travell'd over another ſpacious Plain, where there is a Multitude of Beeves and Wild Fowl. We ſaw ſeveral Tracks, leading every Way, made by the Bullocks, of which we ſaw ſeveral Herds, ſome moving on haſtily, and others running out-right, which made us ſuppoſe they were drove by the Natives. In ſhort, having halted to help up one of our Horſes that was fallen, we ſaw an *Indian* following them very cloſe. Monſieur *de la Sale* caus'd a Horſe to be immediately unloaded, which a Man mounting, rode after, overtook and brought the *Indian*.

When the Savage ſaw himſelf among us, he concluded he was a loſt Man, he quak'd for Fear, and not without Reaſon, for moſt of our Men had reſolv'd to kill him; Monſieur *de la Sale* oppos'd it, alledging, that we were but a ſmall Number, that very few were left behind at the Habitation, and therefore we ought not to render our ſelves odious to the Natives, but to use them kindly, that we might have Peace; an infallible Maxim, the Practice of which might have been fortunate to him, had he follow'd it ſooner.

He

Jan. 1687 He therefore caus'd a Fire to be made, gave him to Eat and Smoke, and afterwards a Bit of Roll-Tabacco, and ſome other Triſles. Monſieur *de la Sale* gave him to underſtand, that he came not to hurt any Man, but to ſettle Peace in all Places, and ſo diſmiſs'd him. The *Indian* recover'd himſelf a little of his Fright; but being ſtill dubious, what his Fate might be, he at firſt walk'd away gently, ſtill looking about him, and when at a good Diſtance, made off as faſt as he could. We held on our Way, and ſoon after ſaw another *Indian* running after the Bullocks. Monſieur *de la Sale* caus'd him to be taken, brought to us, and treated as the firſt had been.

We had not gone far before we ſpy'd a Company of Natives coming towards us, on our left, but we held on our Way, till they were over againſt us, when Monſieur *de la Sale* caus'd us to halt. The Savages ſeeing us halt, ſtood ſtill alſo, which Monſieur *de la Sale* perceiving, he laid his Firelock on the Ground, and advanc'd towards them, making ſigns to him that Commanded them, who was a handſome Man, to draw near. That *Indian* came forward, and was follow'd by the reſt, all of them Careſſing us after their Manner, which we return'd the beſt we were able, and then made them Smoak.

Natives entertain'd Next Monſieur *de la Sale* gave them to underſtand, that we were going towards the *Cenis*, that we deſir'd to be at Peace with them all, and that we would return to our own Country, whence we would bring them all they had Occaſion for. Then we diſtributed among them ſome Bits of Roll-Tabacco, ſome Strings of Beads

Beads and Knives, which they ſeem'd to be pleas'd with, and all this was done by Signs. Then every Man went his own Way: We advanc'd half a League farther, to get into a Wood, where Monſieur *de la Sale* had encamp'd when he went that Way before; we cut down Trees to ſecure our Poſt, and lay there that Night. *Jan.* 1687

Before our Intrenchment was finiſh'd, we diſcover'd, firſt one *Indian*, then two, and afterwards three, coming one after another; which giving Monſieur *de la Sale* ſome Jealouſy, he caus'd us to handle our Arms, with Orders to ſtand upon our Guard, for fear of being ſurpriz'd, and went towards them. They ſignify'd to him, that their People had told them, we did not hurt any Body, which was very well, and that they were come to ſee us. They were entertain'd as the others had been, and then Signs were made them to withdraw, becauſe Night drew on, and having obſerv'd, that they took Notice of our fortifying our ſelves, we kept a good Guard all the Night, without any Diſturbance.

The Fifteenth, we march'd on, intending to find out a Ford, in the River call'd of the *Princeſs*, where Monſieur *de la Sale* had paſs'd before; but miſſing of it, and the River being ſwollen, we were oblig'd to go up higher, ſometimes croſſing curious Meadows, and ſometimes Woods of tall Trees of ſeveral Sorts, but all Young of the ſame Thickneſs and ſtrait, looking as if they had been planted by a Line. The River running through the midſt of thoſe curious ſhady Groves, which were alſo water'd by ſeveral

A fine Country.

Jan. 1687 ſeveral little Brooks of very clear and good Water, afforded a moſt delightful Landskip.

Thick Woods. We alſo met with ſome Woods ſo thick, that that it was requisite to hew a Paſſage for the Horſes. Towards the Evening we kill'd a Bullock, and went to incamp in a little Coppice, with our uſual Precautions.

Wild Fowl. The 16th, we continued our Journey, ſtill following the River upwards, and from Time to Time meeting the ſame Sort of Paſture Grounds and the Obſtacles of Woods, where we were fain to cut our Way through, which fatigued us very much; but the Plenty of wild Fowl, and particularly of Turkeys, whereof we killed many, was an Eaſe to our Sufferings, and Help to bear our Toil with more Satisfaction.

An Indian Village abandon'd. The 17th, was a very toilſome Day's Journey, by Reaſon of the Woods and Rivulets we were to croſs; after which we came to a little Hill, on which there were 2 or 300 Cottages of the Natives. Those Huts were like large Ovens, conſiſting of long Poles ſtuck in the Earth in a Circle, and joyning above to make the Dome or round Top. They had been a Dwelling of the Natives, who being gone, had carry'd away the Hides that cover'd them, and the Mats which are us'd to hang the Inſides, and to make their beds of.

After a March of ſome Hours, our *Indian* having found a Herd of Beeves, we kill'd ſeven or eight, took the beſt of the Meat, and held on our Way acroſs a Wood. We ford'd a Branch of the River, and proceeded to the Bank of another, the Bottom whereof being foul, we incamp'd on the Edge of it, and the Rain falling at

at Night and continuing all the next Day, were oblig'd to ſtay there. *Jan.* 1687

The 19th, the Rain ceaſing, we proceeded through a thick Fog, and over Places where the Water was often up to our Knees, and ſometimes higher; which, together with our being forc'd to cut the Way athwart the Buſhes, with our Hatchets, gave us inexpreſſible Trouble, and it had been much greater, had we not reſolv'd to follow the Ways beaten by the Bullocks, whom a natural Inſtinct always leads to those Parts which are eaſiest to paſs.

We were not free from another Inconveniency in thoſe Tracks, which was their being full of Water and very rugged, a Thing no Way agreeable to our Shoes, which were no other than a Piece of Bullocks Hide or Goats Skin quite green, whereof we made a sort of Buskins, to ſerve inſtead of Shoes, but when thoſe wretch'd Boots were dry'd by the Heat, upon our Feet, they hurt us very much, and we were often oblig'd to ſet our Feet in the Water to ſoften thoſe Buskins. However, we march'd all the Day, notwithſtanding all thoſe Inconveniences, without finding a proper Place to incamp, and at laſt came to a River, whoſe high Bank afforded us a Spot to reſt on.

Buskins of raw Hides inſtead of Shoes.

The 20th, a ſmall Rain did not obſtruct our March, and having croſs'd a Wood, half a League athwart, and a Marſh of the ſame Extent, we came into a large Plain, cut acroſs by great Tracks of Bullocks, which went towards the River, and made us ſuppoſe there might be a Ford. We follow'd that Way, but found the River ſo ſwollen, and its Stream ſo rapid, that it was impoſſible to croſs it, but were oblig'd

Jan. 1687 blig'd to halt upon its Bank, whence we went to hunt Bullocks, whereof we had no want, nor of Turkeys and other wild Fowl.

The 21th, we proceeded up that River, and found a narrow deep Place, near which we hew'd down a Tree, making it fall ſo as to reach from the one Bank to the other, in the Nature of a Plank, and handed our Baggage from one to another over it. The Horſes ſwam over and we incamp'd on the other Side, near a very beautiful Plain.

Hebahamo, *Indian Nation.*

Whilſt we were hewing down ſome little Wood to intrench ourſelves, we heard a Voice, whereupon handling our Arms and going to the Place where we heard it, we ſaw a Company of fifteen Savages, who were coming towards us, and made Signs to us to go to them, laying down their Bows, in Token of Peace. We alſo made our Sign to them to draw near, they did ſo and careſs'd us after their Manner. We made them ſit down and ſmoke, after which, Monſr. *de la Sale* began to converſe with them by Signs, and by Help of ſome Words of the Language of the *Cenis*, which he was skilful in, he underſtood, that theſe were their Neighbours and Allies; that their Village was not far off, and that their Nation was call'd *Hebahamo*. Some ſmall Presents were given them, and they withdrew, promiſing to return the next Day.

The 22th, our Horses being ſpent and hurt, and we much tir'd, the Day was given to Reſt, and the Natives did not fail to come, being twenty five in Number, ſome of whom had Bucklers or Targets made of the ſtrongſt Part of the Bullocks Hides. They gave us to underſtand, that they were ingag'd in War towards the *NW.*

and

and told us, they had ſeen Men like us, who were but ten Days Journey from that Place. Other Tokens they gave, made us ſuppoſe it was *New Spain* that they talk'd of. *Jan.* 1687

Monſr. *de la Sale* took ſeveral Words of their Language, which is very different from that of the *Cenis*, and more difficult. As for their Cuſtoms, they are much alike. In fine, having ſhewn us, that towards the *N. W.* we ſhould meet with Plains, where the Way would be eaſier, and we ſhould ſhun the Woods, we gave them to eat, and ſome Preſents, and they took Leave of us. A Rain falling and holding all the Night, we did not march the 24th. The 25th, we travell'd not far, by Reaſon of the Rains continuing, and that there were ſeveral Rivers in the Way much ſwollen.

The 16th, we proceeded on our Journey, and came to the River call'd *la Sabloniere*, from the many Sand Banks there are in it. The 27th, departing from it, we came to another little narrow River, but very deep; going up higher we found a Ford, and went to incamp beyond it, in a little Wood, where we had a very bad Night, becauſe of the Rain which fell again, and the overflowing of the River, which oblig'd us to make a little Sort of Scaffold, to lay our Powder and Cloaths on, that they might not be wet. The next Day being the 28th, obſerving that the Water was ſtill riſing, we decamp'd to go a League farther, to a higher Ground, where we made a great Fire to warm and dry us.

We took Notice the Country was very good, the Plains extending as far as the Eye could reach, and adorn'd with many little Coppices, affording a very agreeable Proſpect. We march'd over Part of them the 29th and 30th, after 3 Hours Travel,

Feb. 1687 Travel, found a Way full of Water, which oblig'd us to incamp on the Bank of a River; paſs'd it the 31th, and incamp'd in a Wood cloſe by.

Village inhabited. The next Day, being the Firſt of *February* 1687, Monſieur *de la Sale* left me to guard the Camp, and took along with him, Monſieur *Cavelier* his Brother and ſeven Men, to go ſee whether he could find any Body in ſeveral Cottages our Hunters had diſcover'd. He found twenty four or twenty five of them, built round like thoſe I have before mention'd, ſtanding on a riſing Ground, almoſt encompaſs'd by the River, in each of which there were four or five Men, and ſeveral Women and Children.

The Savages were ſomewhat ſurpriz'd at Monſieur *de la Sale*'s coming; however they receiv'd him in friendly Manner, and conducted him to their Commander's Hut, which was immediately fill'd with People, who came to ſee him. The Elders came together there, Bullocks Hides were laid upon the Ground, on which they made Monſieur *de la Sale* and his Company ſit. They gave them hung Beef to eat, and then ſignify'd to them that ſome of their Allies had given them Notice of our being in the Country, and that we were going to the *Cenis*, and they had imagin'd that we would paſs thro' their Country.

Monſieur *de la Sale* preſent'd them with ſome Knives and Bits of Tabacco, and they gave him Bullocks Hides, very well dreſs'd with the Hair, they gave one for a Knife, and would have given many more, but that we told to them, that we had no Conveniency to carry them and that if they had any Horſes, he would give them Axes in Exchange. They anſwer'd, they had but two, which they could not part with.

It being late when Monſieur *de la Sale* return'd, we ſtaid there the reſt of the Day, and ſeveral *Indians* came to ſee us, in Hopes of receiving ſome Preſent, offering us Bullocks Hides dreſſed, which we would not burden our ſelves with. *Feb.* 1687

The Second, we ſet out again, and halted ſome Time in that Village, where by the Way we barter'd for ſome Collars, or a Sort of Knots made of Bullocks Hides well dreſs'd, which the Natives make Uſe of to carry their Burdens, whether of Wood, Utenſils, or the Meat they kill. They prov'd of Uſe both to us and our Horſes, becauſe the Thongs of thoſe Collars ſerv'd to make faſt our Burdens.

la Maligne *River.*

We proceeded on our Journey, through a Country pleasant enough, but Sandy, and having croſs'd a large Plain, came to the Bank of a fine River, call'd *la Maligne*, or the Miſchievous, becauſe in Monſieur *de la Sale*'s former Journey, an Alligator devour'd one of his Servants, who was ſwimming over it. This River is as wide as the *Seine* at *Roan*, ſeems to be very navigable and has a very pleaſant Country about it. We incamp'd in a little Wood adjoining to it, and bark'd the Aſpen Trees to hut.

Indian *Rats.*

Our Hunters kill'd Beeves, wild Goats, Turkeys and other Wild-Fowl, and among the reſt ſome Creatures as big as an indifferent Cat, very like a Rat, having a Bag under their Throat, in which they carry their Young. They feed upon Nuts and Acorns, are very fat, and their Fleſh is much like Pig.

Hard by there, we found a Place where Monſieur *de la Sale*, in his former Journey had hid ſome Parcels of Strings of Beads in the Trunks of Trees, and we reſted there till the Eighth of the Month. During that Time, no Day

Feb. 1687 Day paſs'd without ſeeing ſome of the Natives, who ſometimes ſpent the whole Day with us, and ſaid they were of ſeveral Nations. We made them ſmoke, and always gave them ſome ſmall Preſents. They admir'd that after we had writ down ſome Words they ſpoke to us, we repeated them, looking on the Paper.

Portable Canoe. Whilſt we ſtaid, Monſieur *de la Sale* ſet Men at Work to make a portable Canoe, of long Poles, hew'd and joyn'd and then cover'd with Bullocks Hides ſew'd together, having pull'd off the Hair or Wooll, as it may be call'd there. That Canoe was of great Uſe to us, to croſs Rivers as well for our ſelves as for our Baggage, but the Horſes ſwam over.

The Ninth, we put our Canoe into the Water, and paſs'd the River in it, and incamp'd half a League from thence, on Account of the Graſs, which our Horſes ſtood in Need of to recover themſelves a little. The Tenth, we held on our Journey, croſſing ſeveral ſpacious Plains, the Graſs whereof was burnt, whence Monſieur *de la Sale* concluded, that there were many Natives thereabouts. He thought it convenient to provide Store of dry'd Fleſh, for Fear we ſhould not find Game in the Country we were going to enter upon, and accordingly cauſed ſeveral Beeves to be kill'd for that Purpoſe.

For that Reaſon, we continued there till the 12th, when we went and incamped on the Bank of a River, which Monſieur *de la Sale* had in his former Journey call'd *d'Eure*. At Night there aroſe a ſtorm, follow'd by Thunder and Rain, which ſwell'd the Streams, and obliged us to ſtay there. The 13th and 14th we croſs'd four or five large Rivulets, and then a fine curious

curious Country, diverſify'd with ſeveral little Woods, Hills and ſmall Brooks, affording a delightful Proſpect. That pleaſant Country was terminated by a Wood, which we were to croſs, and were favour'd in it by a Way beaten by the Bullocks, and at Night we incamped there. *Feb.* 1687

The 15th, we travel'd along a fine Meadow, then over Plains that had been burnt, and at Night went to take our Reſt on the Bank of a ſmall Rivulet, about which we ſaw ſeveral Foot-ſteps of Natives, which made us conclude we were not far from them; and therefore we doubled our Guard, to prevent being ſurpriz'd.

The 16th, Monſieur *de la Sale* left me at the Guard of the Camp, and took Monſieur *Cavelier* his Brother, and ſeven Men with him, to go find out the *Indians*. They had not gone half a League before they ſpied Horſes and a Number of Cottages, without being themſelves ſeen by the Savages. That Village ſtood on the Side of a Hill, and contain'd about forty Huts, ſtanding together, beſides ſeveral others ſtraggling. *A Village.*

When Monſieur *de la Sale* enter'd the Village, the Savages ſeeing him, came to meet and conduct him to the Cottage of their Chief, where he and his Company were ſeated on Bullocks Hides. The Elders being come, he ſignify'd to them the Occaſion of his Coming, as he had done to the other Nations, with which they ſeem'd to reſt ſatisfy'd. Some Preſents were made them, according to Cuſtom, and they offer'd him a Quantity of Hides, which he refus'd, telling them, that when he return'd from the *Cenis* he would trade with, and furniſh them with all they had Occaſion for. They confirm'd what *Monſieur* de la Sale *well receiv'd by the Natives.*

Feb. 1687 what the others had told us, concerning a Nation, where ſome of them had been, the Men whereof were like us, meaning the *Spaniards*. He nam'd to them the Nations we had paſs'd through from our Dwelling of St *Lewis*, to the River *Maligne*, which we had lately paſs'd. The Names of thoſe Nations are as follows.

Names of Nations or Tribes. The *Spicheats*, *Kabayes*, *Thecamons*, *Theauremets*, *Kiahoba*, *Choumenes*, *Kouans*, *Arhan*, *Enepiahe*, *Ahonerhopiheim*, *Korenkake*, *Korkone*, *Omeaoſſe*, *Keremen*, *Ahehoen*, *Maghai*, *Thecamenes*, *Otenmarhem*, *Kavagan* and *Meracouman*. Theſe are the Nations that lay on our Road; those on the Weſt and North Weſt of the ſaid River were the *Kannehonan*, *Tohaka*, *Pehir*, *Coyabegux*, *Onapien*, *Pichar*, *Tohan*, *Kiaſſes*, *Chanzes*, *Tſera*, *Bocrettes*, *Tſepehoen*, *Fercouteha*, *Panego*, *Petao*, *Petzares*, *Peiſacho*, *Peihoum* and *Orcampion*.

Thoſe we were with then, were call'd *Teao*, whom we had not before hear'd nam'd. They talk'd of a great Nation call'd *Ayona* and *Canohatino*, who were at War with the *Spaniards*, from whom they ſtole Horſes, and told us, that one hundred *Spaniards* were to have come to join the *Cenis*, to carry on that War, but that having heard of our March, they went back. Monſieur *de la Sale* gave them to underſtand, that we were at War with the *Spaniards*, and that we fear'd them not; and that he was ſent on their Account by the great Captain of the World, who had charg'd him to do them all Good, and to aſſiſt them in their Wars againſt ſuch Nations as were their Enemies.

Thoſe Savages gave Monſieur *de la Sale* Notice, that he would find three of our Men among the *Cenis*, which put him in Hopes they were

were thoſe he had given Leave to depart at his former Journey, and of whom he had never ſince heard. He propos'd to them to barter for Horſes; but they had caus'd them to be convey'd out of the Way, for Fear we ſhould take them away, excepting only one Bay, which Monſieur *de la Sale* agreed for and return'd to us. *Feb.* 1687

The 17th, we paſs'd a ſmall River, with ſome Difficulty, and incamp'd beyond it. The 18th, one of our Horſes going along the Edge of an upright Bank, fell into the Water, and came off with only a Hurt on the Shoulder; but we were fain to unload him, and diſtribute his Burden among us, every one making a Pack; and thus we croſs'd a curious Plain, diverſify'd with Woods, Hills, Rivulets, and delightful Meadows.

The 19th, we travell'd along the Tops of thoſe Hills, to avoid the Bottoms, and found a Difficulty to get down, by Reaſon of the Rocks we met with at the End of them, and a River we were to croſs. Whilſt we were paſſing that River, we heard Dogs hunting the Bullocks, two of which coming near us, one of them was ſhot dead. The Natives who were hunting ſpying us, ſent out two of their Number, who creeping from Tree to Tree, drew near, and then ſtood ſtill, without daring to proceed any farther. We made Signs to them to come, which they did, and we made them ſmoke, till Monſieur *de la Sale* return'd, being gone a little Way to obſerve the Body of thoſe People.

When come, he told them, he would entertain Peace with them, that we were going to the

Feb. 1687 the *Cenis*, and he believ'd, that theſe very Men were of their Nation, becauſe they had their Accent and ſome of their Words. They told him their Village was near that Place, and bore us Company to our Camp, where after ſome ſmall Preſents given them, they were diſmiſs'd.

Account given by a Native. The 20th, Monſieur *de la Sale* ſent Monſieur *Moranget* and ſome others to the Village of thoſe Natives, to try whether they could barter with them for ſome Horſes. In the mean Time two Savages came to us, one of them being the ſame that was with us the Night before, and they expreſs'd much Friendſhip for us. That particular *Indian* told us, his name was *Palaquechaune*, that they were Allies to the *Cenis*, that their Chief had been among the *Choumans*, with the *Spaniards*; that the *Choumans* were Friends to the *Spaniards*, from whom they got Horſes, and added ſome farther Particulars, which the others had before ſignify'd to us; ſo that we had good Reaſon to judge we were not far from *North Mexico*.

He alſo told us, that the *Choumans* had given their Chief ſome Preſents, to perſwade him to conduct us to them; that moſt of the ſaid Nation had flat Heads; that they had *Indian* Corn, which gave Monſieur *de la Sale* Ground to believe, that thoſe People were ſome of the ſame he had ſeen upon his firſt Diſcovery. That ſame Native had a very fine Goat's Skin, which I purchas'd of him for four Needles, after I had ſhewn him how to uſe them, and that Skin was of good Uſe to make us Shoes inſtead of raw Bullocks Hides.

Some

Some Time after, Monſieur *Moranget* returnd, gave Monſieur *de la Sale* an Account of his ſhort Journey, and ſaid, That one of the Natives, who ſaw us the Night before, came to meet and conduct him to the Chief's Cottage, where forty Ancient *Indians* were, by whom he had been kindly receiv'd. That the Chief had in his Hand a Reed, at the end whereof was made faſt a Leaf of a *French* Book, which he had an extraordinary Reſpect for. That they had been made to ſit on Bullocks Hides, and treated with dry'd Beef. *Feb.* 1687

M. Moranget's *Account.*

That after theſe firſt Ceremonies, the Chief had given them to underſtand, that ſome of their People had been conducted by a Man like us, to our Habitation, and that the ſaid Man had promis'd to bring them to talk with us, in order to treat of Peace; but that on the Contrary, we had fired on them and kill'd one of their Men, which had oblig'd them to kill the Man that led them, and that then they returnd. It is not improper here to put the Reader in Mind, that I have before mention'd this Accident, when the Sieur *Barbier* croſſing the River in a Canoe, was call'd upon by ſome Perſon, who was among the Natives on the Bank of the River, who had made two Shots, as it had been only the Priming of a Piece, which the Sieur *Barbier* had look'd upon as an Inſult, and therefore he had alſo fir'd, with all the other Particulars, as mention'd before; an Accident that happen'd for want of underſtanding one another; which, together with Monſr. *de la Sale*'s forbidding us to have any Communication with the Natives, was very prejudicial to us afterwards.

After

Feb. 1687 After much other Diſcourſe, Monſieur *Moranget* having given them ſome ſmall Preſents, they made their return in Bullocks Hides, and Goats Skins well dreſs'd. He ask'd them for ſome Horſes to barter; they anſwer'd, they had no more than what they ſtood in Need of. We immediately proceeded on our Journey, and that day being the 21ſt, went to incamp at the Edge of a Wood.

The 22d, we went up to an Eminence terminated by a Rock, at the Foot whereof ran a little River, the bottom whereof was all of flat Rocks, fit for Building. Thence we deſcry'd two Natives driving of Bullocks, which made us ſtand upon our Guard, and it appear'd to be our *Indian*, who had met another, with whom he had been acquainted among the *Cenis*, and whom he had brought along with him.

Three loſt French *Men heard of.*

Monſieur *de la Sale* was very glad to ſee him, and remember'd he was one of thoſe of whom he had purchas'd a Horſe. He ask'd ſeveral Queſtions of him, and among the reſt, whether he had not ſeen the four Men who deſerted in his former Journey, or heard any Talk of the others, to whom he had given Leave to return to our Dwelling. He anſwer'd, he had ſeen one among the *Cenis*, and two others among the *Aſſonis*; but that he had not heard of any more, and that they must needs be dead; as alſo the Sieur *Bihorel*, who was likewiſe mention'd to him.

He further told us, that there were four or five Cottages thereabouts, in which about Fifteen Men reſided. At Night he went away. Our *Indian* had kill'd a Cow at a great Diſtance and ſhot her quite through, at which the other, who

who had been an Eye Witneſs to it, ſtood a long Time amaz'd, without ſpeaking one Word, admiring the Effect of our Pieces. That Cow was ſent for, and the Fleſh brought to our Camp. *Feb.* 1687

The 23d, we paſs'd by the Cottages we had been told of, where the Natives were with their Wives and Children. Monſr. *de la Sale* caus'd us to halt in the Village. We were well receiv'd, they preſented us with dry'd Beef, and we return'd it in ſome Knives. We ſaw two Horſes, one of them a little grey, indifferent handſome. They told us they would ſoon depart that Place, to go join their Companions, who were in War with their Enemies. The reſt of our Men being come up, we went on to incamp a League from thence, on the Bank of a Rivulet, and at the Foot of one of the higheſt Mountains in the Country.

Unloading our Horſes, we perceiv'd there wanted a large Axe, which ſerv'd us for hewing down of Trees. Monſieur *de la Sale* ſent his *Indian* to demand it, at the Village we came from laſt, the Savages ſaid they had not ſeen it, and it was loſt. He brought back Word, that the Savages had told him, that if we would ſtay for them, they would go along with, and ſhew us the Way.

However, we went on the 24th, and incamp'd on the Edge of a Marſh. The 25th, the Rain hinder'd us from Marching. The 26th, Monſieur *de la Sale* perceiving how difficult and dangerous it was to croſs that Marſh, ſent his *Indian* to the others, to know whether they really deſign'd to go with us. They anſwer'd, we muſt return thither to join them.

The

Mar. 1687 The 27th. we decamp'd, in order to it; but took another Way to go meet the *Indians*. The 28th. we ſaw them marching at a Diſtance. One of them was detach'd to come tell us, that he would ſhew us the Way to croſs the Marſh, and we went on and incamp'd at the Foot of the high Mountain I have ſpoken of.

The firſt of *March*, we join'd the *Indians*, on the Edge of the Marſh, which we had juſt croſs'd, where the Rains kept us till the Fifth, during which Time we went to find out where we might pass a rapid Torrent, that diſcharges it ſelf into the River call'd of *Canoes*, which we paſs'd the 6th, in the Canoe we had made, and which did us good Service, to paſs other Rivers we met with the 7th and the 8th on our Way.

River of Canoes. The 9th, we did not ſtir, becauſe of the Rain. The 10th, incamp'd on the Bank of a ſmall River, which we croſs'd the 11th, and the ſame Day another River, and incamp'd on the Bank of it, and found it adorn'd with very fine Mulberry Trees. The 12th we croſs'd another River, and incamp'd near it. The 13th, came again to the River of *Canoes*, so call'd by Monſieur *de la Sale*, becauſe he the firſt Time put Canoes into it, at his former Journey. We paſs'd it the 14th, and incamp'd on the other Side where we again join'd the *Indians*.

The 15th, we held on our Journey with them, and found a pleaſanter Country than that we had paſs'd thro'; and Monſieur *de la Sale* having in his former Journey hid ſome Indian Wheat and Beans, two or three Leagues from that Place, and our Proviſions beginning to fall ſhort, it was thought fit to go to that Place. Accordingly he order'd the Sieurs *Duhaut*, *Hiens*, *Liotot*

Proviſions hid, ſpoilt.

tot the Surgeon, his own *Indian*, and his Footman, whoſe Name was *Saget*, who were followed by ſome Natives, to go to the Place he deſcribed to them, where they found all rotten and quite ſpoilt. *Mar.* 1687

The 16, in their Return, they met with two Bullocks, which Monſieur *de la Sale*'s *Indian* kill'd, whereupon they ſent back his Footman, to give him Notice of what they had kill'd, that if he would have the Fleſh dry'd, he might ſend Horſes for it. The 17th, Monſieur *de la Sale* had the Horſes taken up, and order'd the Sieurs *Moranget* and *de Male* and his Footman, to go for that Meat, and ſend back a Horſe Load immediately, till the reſt was dry'd.

Diſcontent occaſion'd by Monſr. Moranget.

Monſieur *Moranget*, when he came thither, found they had ſmoak'd both the Beeves, tho' they were not dry enough; and the ſaid Sieurs *Liotot*, *Hiens*, *Duhaut* and the reſt had laid aſide the Marrow-Bones and others to roaſt them, and eat the fleſh that remain'd on them, as was uſual to do. The Sieur *Moranget* found fault with it, he in a Paſſion ſeiz'd not only the Fleſh that was ſmoak'd and dry'd, but alſo the Bones, without giving them any Thing; but on the contrary, threatning they ſhould not eat ſo much of it, as they had imagin'd, and that he would manage that Fleſh after another Manner.

Conſpiracy to murder Monſr. de la Sale.

This paſſionate Behaviour, ſo much out of Seaſon, and contrary to Reaſon and Cuſtom, touch'd the Surgeon *Liotot*, *Heins* and *Duhaut* to the Quick, they having other Cauſes of Complaint againſt *Moranget*. They withdrew, and reſolv'd together upon a bloody Revenge; they agreed upon the Manner of it, and concluded they would murder the Sieur *Moranget*, Monſieur

Mar. 1687 ſieur *de la Sale*'s Footman and his *Indian*, becauſe he was very faithful to him.

They waited till Night, when thoſe unfortunate Creatures had ſupp'd and were aſleep. *Liotot* the Surgeon was the inhuman Executioner, he took an Ax, began by the Sieur *Moranget*, giving him many Strokes on the Head; the ſame he did by the Footman and the *Indian*, killing them on the Spot, whilſt his Fellow Villains, *viz. Duhaut*, *Hiens*, *Teiſſier* and *Larcheveque* ſtood upon their Guard, with their Arms, to fire upon ſuch as ſhould make any Reſiſtance. The *Indian* and the Footman never ſtir'd, but the Sieur *Moranget* had ſo much Vigour as to ſit up, but without being able to ſpeak one Word, and the Aſſaſins obliged the Sieur *de Marle* to make an End of him, tho' he was not in the Conſpiracy.

Bloody Murderers.

This Slaughter had yet ſatisfy'd but one Part of the Revenge of thoſe Murderers. To finiſh it and ſecure themſelves it was requiſite to deſtroy the Commander in Chief. They conſulted about the ſafeſt Method to effect it, and reſolve to go together to Monſieur *de la Sale*, to knock out the Brains of the moſt reſolute immediately, and then it would be eaſier to overcome the reſt. But the River, which was between them and us, being much ſwollen, the Difficulty of paſſing it made them put it off the 18th and 19th. On the other Hand Monſieur *de la Sale* was very uneaſy, on Account of their long Stay. His Impatience made him reſolve to go himſelf to find out his People and to know the Cauſe of it.

Conſult to murder Monſr. de la Sale.

This was not done without many previous Tokens of Concern, and Apprehenſion. He ſeem'd

ſeem'd to have ſome Preſage of his Misfortune, enquiring of ſome, whether the Sieur *Liotot*, *Hiens* and *Duhaut* had not expreſs'd ſome Diſcontent; and not hearing any Thing of it, he could not forbear ſetting out the 20th, with Father *Anaſtaſius* and an *Indian*, leaving me the Command in his Abſence, and charging me from Time to Time to go the Rounds about our Camp, to prevent being ſurpriz'd, and to make a Smoke for him to direct his Way in Caſe of Need. When he came near the Dwelling of the Murderers, looking out ſharp to diſcover ſomething, he obſerved Eagles fluttering about a Spot, not far from them, which made him believe they had found ſome Carrion about the Manſion, and he fired a Shot, which was the Signal of his Death and forwarded it.

Mar. 1687

He goes to ſeek them.

The Conſpirators hearing the Shot, concluded it was Monſieur *de la Sale*, who was come to ſeek them. They made ready their Arms and provided to ſurprize him. *Duhaut* paſſed the River, with *Larcheveque*. The firſt of them ſpying Monſieur *de la Sale* at a Diſtance, as he was coming towards them, advanc'd and hid himſelf among the high Weeds, to wait his paſſing by, ſo that Monſieur *de la Sale* ſuſpecting nothing, and having not ſo much as charg'd his Piece again, ſaw the aforeſaid *Larcheveque* at a good Diſtance from him, and immediately ask'd for his Nephew *Moranget*, to which *Larcheveque* anſwer'd, That he was along the River. At the ſame Time the Traitor *Duhaut* fired his Piece and ſhot Monſr. *de la Sale* thro' the Head, ſo that he dropp'd down dead on the Spot, without ſpeaking one Word.

Is murder'd.

Father

Mar. 1687

Father *Anaſtaſius*, who was then by his Side, ſtood ſtock ſtill in a Fright, expecting the ſame Fate, and not knowing whether he ſhould go forwards or backwards; but the Murderer *Duhaut* put him out of that Dread, bidding him not to fear, for no Hurt was intended him; that it was Deſpair that had prevail'd with him to do what he ſaw; that he had long deſir'd to be revenged on *Moranget*, becauſe he had deſign'd to ruin him, and that he was partly the Occaſion of his Uncle's Death. This is the exact Relation of that Murder, as it was preſently after told me by F. *Anaſtaſius*.

His Character.

Such was the unfortunate End of Monſieur *de la Sale*'s Life, at a Time when he might entertain the greateſt Hopes, as the Reward of his Labours. He had a Capacity and Talent to make his Enterprize ſucceſsful; his Conſtancy and Courage and his extraordinary Knowledge in Arts and Sciences, which render'd him fit for any Thing, together with an indefatigable Body, which made him ſurmount all Difficulties, would have procur'd a glorious Iſſue to his Undertaking, had not all thoſe excellent Qualities been counterbalanced by too haughty a Behaviour, which ſometimes made him inſupportable, and by a Rigidneſs towards thoſe that were under his Command, which at laſt drew on him an implacable Hatred, and was the Occaſion of his Death.

Barbarity towards the dead Body.

The Shot which had kill'd Monſieur *de la Sale*, was alſo a Signal of the Murder to the Aſſaſſins for them to draw near. They all repair'd to the Place where the wretched dead Corps lay, which they barbarouſly ſtrip'd to the Shirt, and vented their Malice in vile and opprobrious Language.

Language. The Surgeon *Liotot* ſaid ſeveral Times in Scorn and Deriſion, *There thou lieſt, Great Baſſa, there thou lieſt.* In Concluſion, they dragged it naked among the Buſhes, and left it expoſed to the ravenous Wild Beaſts. So far was it from what a certain Author writes, of their having bury'd him and ſet up a Croſs on his Grave. *Mar.* 1687

When thoſe Murderers had ſatiated their Rage, they ſet out to come to us at our Camp, with the dry'd Fleſh, which they had cauſ'd to be brought over the River by the *Indians*, who had been Spectators of the Murder and of all the inhuman Actions that had been committed, with Amazement and Contempt of us. When they were come to the Camp, they found Meſſieurs *Cavelier*, the one Brother, the other Nephew to the murder'd Commander, whom Father *Anaſtaſius* acquainted with the diſmal End of our Chief, and enjoyn'd them Silence, which it is eaſy to imagine was very hard upon them; but it was absolutely neceſſary. *Murderers return to the Camp.*

However, Monſieur *Cavelier* the Prieſt, could not forbear telling them, that if they would do the ſame by him, he would forgive them his Murder, and only deſir'd them to give him a Quarter of an Hour to prepare himſelf: They answer'd, They had Nothing to ſay to him; that what they had done was the Effect of Deſpair, to be reveng'd for the ill Uſage they had receiv'd.

I was abſent at that Time; he they call'd *Larcheveque*, who, as I have ſaid, was one of the Conſpirators, had ſome Kindneſs for me, and knowing they deſign'd to make me away too, if

I ſtood

Mar. 1687 I ſtood upon my Defence, he parted from them, to give me Notice of their miſchievous Reſolution. He found me on a little riſing Ground, where I was looking upon our Horſes as they graz'd in a little adjacent Bottom. His Intelligence ſtruck me to the Heart, not knowing whether I ſhould fly or ſtay; but at length, having neither Powder nor Shot, nor Arms, and the ſaid *Larcheveque* giving me Aſſurances of my Life, provided I was quiet and ſaid Nothing, I committed my ſelf to God's Protection, and went to them, without taking any Notice of what had been done.

The Author ſav'd by a Friend.

Dehaut, *the Murderer, uſurps the Command.*

Dehaut, puff'd up with his new gotten Authority, procur'd him by his Villany, as ſoon as he ſaw me, cry'd out, Every Man ought to command in his Turn; to which I made no Anſwer; and we were all of us oblig'd to ſtifle our Reſentment, that it might not appear, for our Lives depended on it. However, it was eaſy to judge with what Eyes Father *Anaſtaſius*, Meſſieurs *Cavelier* and I beheld theſe Murderers, to whom we expected every Moment to fall Sacrifices. It is true, we diſſembled ſo well, that they were not very ſuſpicious of us, and that the Temptation we were under of making them away in Revenge for thoſe they had murder'd, would have eaſily prevail'd and been put in Execution, had not Monſieur *Cavelier*, the Prieſt, always poſitively oppos'd it, alledging, that we ought to leave Vengeance to God.

March continued.

However the Murderers ſeiz'd upon all the Effects, without any Opposition, and then we began to talk of proceeding on our Journey. We

We decamp'd the 21ſt, with our *Indians*, and march'd with ſuch a heavy Rain, that we were oblig'd to halt on the Bank of a great Stream, where one of the Natives that had left us, arriv'd with his Wife. We went on the 22d and 23d, and paſs'd the River, where Father *Anaſtaſius*, Monſieur *Cavelier* and I, who could not ſwim, had been drown'n, but that the Natives aſſiſted and ſav'd us. The 24th, we went on thro' a marſhy Country, never quitting a ſmall Path which led to the Village of the *Cenis*, till the 28th, when we reſted on the Bank of a River of the ſame Name, tho' about ten Leagues diſtant from the Village. *Mar.* 1687 Cenis *River.*

We had hop'd to ford that River, as Monſieur *de la Sale* had done, when he return'd from that Country; but it was ſo ſwollen, that there was no doing it, and we were forced to make a Canoe of Bullocks Hides. Whilſt we were employ'd at that Work, the *Indians* ſwam over and went to give Notice to the *Cenis* of our Arrival.

We found the Country pleaſant enough about that River, tho' the Land did not ſeem to be any of the beſt; but ſtill it was delightful to the Eye, well planted with fine Trees of ſeveral Sorts, among which, is one that Monſieur *de la Sale* had nam'd *Copal*, being very beautiful, the Leaves of it between those of the Maple and the Lime Trees in Reſemblance, and from it comes a Gum, of a very agreeable Scent. In the ſame Place we ſaw a great Tree, on which the late Monſieur *de la Sale* had caus'd Croſſes and the Arms of *France* to be carv'd. Copal *Tree.*

The

Mar. 1687

The Hunting of Bullocks had fail'd us, and we had ſeen none from the Place where our late Leader had been murder'd. Thus our Proviſions began to fall ſhort, and it was reſolv'd on the 29th, to ſend ſome Men before, to the Village of the *Cenis*, to know, whether they had any *Indian* Corn, and were willing to barter for it. I was appointed, with the Surgeon *Liotot*, the *Teſſieers*, and *Hiens*, who was a Buccanier, Monſieur *de la Sale* had taken up at *Petit Gouave*, to go with him upon this Expedition. I was very unwilling to undertake that Journey, with a Murderer and two of his Companions, of whom I was ſuſpicious; but it was very requiſite to obey, and *Duhaut* having all the Effects in his Poſſeſſion, alledging, that a great part of them belong'd to him, he gave us ſome Axes and Knives to barter for *Indian* Corn, as alſo for Horſes, if any were to be had, and accordingly we paſs'd the River.

The Author ſent to the Cenis *for Proviſions.*

The Country deſcrib'd.

We found the Country made up of ſeveral little Hills, of an indifferent Height, on which there are Abundance of Wallnut-Trees and Oaks, not ſo large as what we had ſeen before, but very agreeable. The Weeds which had been ſome Time before burnt by the Natives, began to ſpring up again, and diſcover'd large green Fields very pleaſing to the Sight.

When we had travell'd ſome Time, we diſcover'd three Men a Horſeback, coming towards us from the Village, and being come near them, ſaw one dreſs'd after the *Spaniſh* Faſhion, with a little Doublet, the Body whereof was of blue, and the Sleeves of white Fuſtian,

Fuſtian, as it were imbroider'd, with very ſtreight Breeches, white worſted Stockings, Woollen-Garters, a broad-brim'd, flat-crown'd Hat, and long Hair. We preſently concluded he was a *Spaniard*, and the rather becauſe we had been told, that ſome of them were to come to join in League with the *Cenis*, againſt an Enemy nation, and we were at a Nonplus; for if we fell into their Hands, we muſt never expect to get away, but be condemn'd to ſerve either in the Mines, or in the Quarries, in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, for which Reaſon we provided to give the pretended *Spaniard* an unkind Reception, and then to make the beſt of our Way back. *Mar.* 1687

A Man clad like a Spaniard.

Being come up to him, I ſpoke ſome Words of *Spaniſh* and *Italian*, to which he return'd no Anſwer; but on the contrary, made uſe of the Word *Couſſica*, which in the Language of the *Cenis*, ſignifies, *I do not underſtand you*; which Anſwer of his remov'd our Apprehenſions. The two others were quite naked, one of them being mounted on a fine grey Mare, and on her were beſides two Panniers, handſomly made of Reeds, full of very fine Meal parch'd, or roaſted. After ſeveral Questions, to which we had no very ſatisfactory Anſwers, we lighted Fire to make them ſmoke, and then they preſented us with the two Panniers full of Meal, giving us to underſtand, that their Chief expected us in the Village, and having ſignify'd, that they were ſent to meet us, we gave them ſome Knives and Strings of Beads.

We

Mar. 1687

We ask'd them, whether they had any Men among them like him that was a Horſeback in the *Spaniſh* Habit, they anſwer'd, there were two in a Neighboring Nation, call'd *Aſſony*, and that he who was clad, had been in their Country, and brought thence the Cloaths we ſaw him wear. That Man then ſhew'd us a *Spaniſh* printed Paper, containing the Indulgences granted to the Miſſioners of *NewMexico*. After this they left us to go on, to our People, for which Reaſon I writ a Note, giving an Account of our having met them.

We alighted to eat, and let our Horſes graze on the Bank of a Rivulet; but it was not long before the ſame Natives, who had been with us before, appear'd again hard by us. We made Signs to them to draw near and eat with us; which they did, and then went along with us towards the Village, which we would not go into, becauſe it was Night. The *Indian* that was clad, ſtay'd all Night with us, and the two others went away.

The Cenis *meet the French in ſolemn Manner.*

When it was Day, we held on our Way to the Village; the *Indian* that was with us conducting us to their Chief's Cottage. By the Way, we ſaw many other Cottages, and the Elders coming to meet us in their Formalities, which conſiſted in ſome Goats Skins dreſs'd and painted of ſeveral Colours, which they wore on their Shoulders like Belts, and Plumes of Feathers of ſeveral Colours, on their Heads, like Coronets. Six or ſeven of them had ſquare Sword Blades, like the *Spaniſh*, on the Hilts whereof they had faſten'd great Plumes of Feathers, and ſeveral Hawks Bells; ſome of them had Clubs, which they call Head-breakers, ſome only

only their Bows and Arrows; others, Bits of white Linen, reaching from Shoulder to Shoulder. All their Faces were daub'd with black or red, There were twelve Elders, who walk'd in the Middle, and the Youth and Warriors in Ranks, on the Sides of thoſe old Men. *Mar.* 1687

Being come up to us in that Manner, he that conducted us, made a Sign for us to halt, which when we had done, all the old Men lifted up their Right Hands above their Heads, crying out in a moſt ridiculous Manner; but it behov'd us to have a Care of laughing. That done, they came and imbrac'd us, uſing all Sorts of Endearments. Then they made us ſmoke, and brought to us a French Man of *Provence*, who was one of thoſe that had forſaken the late Monſieur *de la Sale*, at his firſt Journey.

A French Man among the Indians.

The whole Company conducted us after the ſame Manner, to their Chief's Cottage; and after we had ſtaid there a ſhort Time, they led us to a larger Cottage, a Quarter of a League from thence, being the Hut in which they have their publick Rejoycings, and the great Aſſemblies. We found it furniſh'd with Mats for us to ſit on. The Elders ſeated themſelves round about us, and they brought us to eat, ſome *Sagamite*, which is their Pottage, little Beans, Bread made of *Indian* Corn, and another Sort they make with boil'd Flower, and at laſt they made us ſmoke.

Indian Entertainment.

During our Repaſt, they entertain'd us with the Diſcouſe of their Deſign to make War on a Nation, who were their Enemies, and whom they call'd *Cannokantimo*. When it was over, we preſented them, according to Cuſtom, with ſome Knives and Strings of Beads for their

Mar. 1687 their Wives. We deſir'd them to afford us ſome *Indian* Corn, in Exchange for other Things, which they promis'd, and the French Man who was with them, having told us, that there was a Diſtrict, which afforded more Corn, than that where we were, and where his Cottage was, we reſolv'd to go thither. We propos'd it to the Elders, who would needs go along with us, attended by a great Number of Youth, and having got ready our Horſes, we ſet out for that Place.

By the Way, we ſaw ſeveral Cottages at certain Diſtances, ſtragling up and down, as the Ground happens to be fit for Tillage. The Field lies about the Cottage, and at other Diſtances there are other large Huts, not inhabited, but only ſerving for publick Aſſemblies, either upon Occaſion of Rejoycings, or to conſult about Peace and War.

Huts and Families in them. The Cottages that are inhabited, are not each of them for a private Family, for in ſome of them there are fifteen or twenty, each of which has its Nook or Corner, Bed and other Utenſils to its ſelf; but without any Partition to ſeparate it from the reſt: However, they have Nothing in Common beſides the Fire, which is in the Midſt of the Hut, and never goes out. It is made of great Trees, the Ends whereof are laid together, ſo that when once lighted, it laſts a long Time, and the firſt Comer takes Care to keep it up.

Manner of Building. The Cottages are round at the Top, after the Manner of a Bee-Hive, or a Reek of Hay. Some of them are ſixty Foot Diameter. In Order to build them, they plant Trees as thick as a Man's Thigh, tall and ſtrait, and placing them

them in a Circle, and joyning the Tops together, from the Dome, or round Top, then they laſh and cover them with Weeds. When they remove their Dwellings, they generally burn the Cottages they leave, and build new on the Ground they design to inhabit. *Mar.* 1687

Their Moveables are ſome Bullocks Hides and Goats Skins well cur'd, ſome Mats cloſe wove, wherewith they adorn their Huts, and ſome Earthen Veſſels, which they are very skilful at making, and wherein they boil their Fleſh or Roots, or *Sagamiſe*, which, as has been ſaid, is their Pottage. They have alſo ſome ſmall Baskets made of Canes, ſerving to put in their Fruit and other Proviſions. Their Beds are made of Canes, rais'd two or three Foot above the Ground, handſomly fitted with Mats and Bullocks Hides, or Goats Skins well cur'd, which ſerve them for Feather Beds, or Quilts and Blankets; and thoſe Beds are parted one from another by Mats hung up. *Their moveables.* *Beds.*

When they deſign to Till the Ground, they give one another Notice, and very often above an Hundred of each Sex meet together. When they have till'd that Piece of Land, after their Manner, and ſpent part of the Day, thoſe the Land belongs to, give the others to Eat, and then they ſpend the reſt of the Day in Dancing and Merry Making. This ſame is practis'd from Canton to Canton, and ſo they till Land all together. *Tillage.*

This Tillage conſiſts in breaking up juſt the Surface of the Earth with a Sort of Wooden Inſtrument, like a little Pick-axe, which they make by ſplitting the End of a thick Piece of Wood, that ſerves for a Handle, and putting another *Inſtrument for Tilling.*

Mar. 1687 another Piece of Wood ſharp Pointed at one End into the Slit. This Inſtrument ſerves them inſtead of a Hoe, or Spade, for they have no Iron Tools. When the Land has been thus till'd or broke up, the Women Sow and Plant the *Indian* Corn, Beans, Pompions, Water Melons, and other Grain and Garden Ware, which is for their Suſtenance.

Women ſow.

Indians *diſfigure themſelves.*

The *Indians* are generally Handſom, but diſfigure themſelves by making Scores, or Streaks on their Faces, from the Top of the Forehead down the Noſe to the Tip of the Chin; which is done by pricking the Skin with Needles, or other ſharp Inſtruments, till it bleeds, whereon they ſtrew fine Powder of Charcoal, and that ſinks in and mixes with the Blood within the Skin. They alſo make after the ſame Manner, the Figures of living Creatures, of Leaves and Flowers on their Shoulders, Thighs, and other Parts of their Bodies, and Paint themſelves, as has been ſaid before, with Black or Red, and ſometimes both together.

Women.

The Women are generally well Shap'd, and would not be diſagreeable, did they adhere to Nature; but they Diſguiſe themſelves as ridiculouſly as the Men, not only with the Streak they have like them down their Face, but by other Figures they make on it, at the Corners of their Eyes, and on the other Parts of their Bodies; whereof they make more particular Show on their Boſom, and thoſe who have the most, are reckoned the handſomeſt; tho' that pricking in that Part be extremely painful to them.

It

It is they that do all the Work in the Cottage, either in Pounding the *Indian* Corn and Baking the Meal, or making the Pottage of the ſaid Meal, by them call'd *Sagamite*, or in dreſſing their other Proviſions, or drying or parching, or ſmoaking their Fleſh, fetching the Wood they have Occaſion for, or the Fleſh of Bullocks, or other Beaſts kill'd by their Husbands in the Woods, which are often at a great Diſtance, and afterwards Dreſſing them as has been ſaid. They Sow and Plant, when the Land has been broke up, and in ſhort, do almoſt all that is requiſite for the Support of Life. *Mar.* 1687 *They do the Work at Home.*

I did not obſerve that thoſe Women were naturally given to Lewdneſs; but their Virtue is not Proof againſt ſome of our Toys, when preſented them, as Needles, Knives, and more particularly Strings of Beads, whereof they make Necklaces and Bracelets, and that Temptation is rarely reſiſted by them, and the leſs becauſe they have no Religion or Law to prohibit that vile Practice. It is true their Husbands, when they take them in the Fact, ſometimes do puniſh them, either by Separation or otherwiſe; but that is rare. *Their Behaviour.*

The Country of thoſe *Indians* being generally subject to no Cold, almoſt all of them go naked; unleſs when the *North* Wind blows, then they cover themſelves with a Bullock's Hide, or Goat's Skin cur'd. The Women wear nothing but a Skin, Mat, or Clout, hanging round them like a Petticoat, and reaching down half way their Legs, which hides their Nakedneſs before and behind. On their Heads they have nothing *Habits.*

Mar. 1687 thing but their Hair platted and knotted behind.

Manners. As for their Manners, it may be ſaid of theſe as of all other *Indians* of that great Continent, that they are not Miſchievous, unleſs wrong'd or attack'd; in which Caſe they are all Fierce and Revengeful. They Watch all Opportunities to be Reveng'd, and never let any ſlip, when offer'd, which is the Cauſe of their being continually at War with their Neighbours, and of that Martial Humour, ſo Predominant among them.

Religion. As to the Knowledge of a God, they did not ſeem to us to have any fix'd Notion of Him; it is true, we met with ſome on our Way, who as far as we could judge, believ'd, there was ſome Superior Being, which was above all Things, and this they testify'd by lifting up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven, yet without any Manner of Concern, as believing that the ſaid exalted Being does not regard at all, what is done here below. However none of them having any Places of Worſhip, Ceremonies, or Prayers, to denote the divine Homage, it may be ſaid of them all, that they have no Religion, at leaſt thoſe that we ſaw.

Ceremonies. However, they obſerve ſome Ceremonies; but whether they have any Regard to a real or pretended Superior Being, or whether they are only popular, and proceeding from Cuſtom, is what we were not able to diſcover. Thoſe Ceremonies are as follows. When the Corn is ripe, they gather a certain Quantity in a Maund or Basket, which is placed on a Sort of Seat or Stool, dedicated to that Uſe, and ſerving only upon thoſe miſterious Occaſions, which they have a great Veneration for. The

The Basket with the Corn being placed on that honour'd Stool, one of the Elders holds out his Hands over it, and talks a long Time; after which, the ſaid old Man diſtributes the Corn among the Women, and no Perſon is allow'd to eat of the new Corn, till eight Days after that Ceremony. This ſeems to be in the Nature of Offering up or Bleſſing the firſt Fruits of their Harveſt. *Mar.* 1687

At their Aſſemblies, when the *Sagamite*, or Pottage, which is the moſt eſſential Part of their meal, is boil'd in a great Pot, they place that Pot on the Stool of Ceremony above mention'd, and one of the Elders ſtretches out his Hands over it, muttering ſome Words between his Teeth for a conſiderable Time, after which, they fall to eat.

When the young Folks are grown up to be fit to go to the Wars, and take upon them to be Soldiers, their Garment, conſiſting of ſome Skin, or Clout, together with their Bow, Quiver and Arrows, is placed on the aforeſaid Stool, an old Man ſtretches out his Hands over them, mutters the Words as above, and then the Garments, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows are given to the Perſons they belong to. This may be compar'd to Something of a Ceremony of Knighting among them. The ſame Ceremonies are us'd by them in the cultivating of their Grain and Product, but particularly of the Tabacco, whereof they have a Sort, which has ſmaller Leaves than Ours; it is almoſt ever green and they use it in Leaves. *Tabacco.*

This is what we obſerv'd among the *Cenis*, whose Cuſtoms and Manners differ very little from those of other Nations, which we had ſeen before,

Mar. 1687 before and ſaw afterwards. As to the Point of Religion, it is not to be infer'd from what I have ſaid above, that there is none throughout that vaſt Continent: The Account I have given only regards thoſe Nations we ſaw; there may be others that have ſome Worſhip, and I remember I have heard Monſieur *de la Sale* ſay, that the Nation call'd *Takenſa*, neighbouring on the *Iſlinois*, ador'd the Fire, and that they had Cottages which they made uſe of, as Temples.

Nation, what is meant here by it.

Before I conclude this ſhort Account of the Religion, Cuſtoms and Manners of the *Cenis*, which belong'd properly to this Place, it is fit here alſo to obſerve, that the Word Nation, is not to be underſtood, among thoſe *Indians*, to denote a People poſſeſſing a whole Province, or vaſt Extent of Land. Thoſe Nations are no other than a Parcel of Villages, diſpers'd for the Space of twenty or thirty Leagues at moſt, which compoſe a diſtinct People or Nation; and they differ from one another rather in Language than in Manners, wherein they are all much alike, or at leaſt they vary but little, as has been mention'd above. As for the Names of them, here follow thoſe of ſuch as we travel'd through, or were near the Way we held from our leaving our Habitation near the Bay of the Holy Ghoſt, till we came among the *Cenis*.

Names of Nations.

The *Spicheats*, *Kabayes*, *Thecamons*, *Theareméts*, *Kiabaha*, *Chaumenes*, *Kouans*, *Arhau*, *Enepiahe*, *Ahonerhopiheim*, *Koienkahe*, *Konkone*, *Omeaoſſe*, *Keremen*, *Ahekouen*, *Meghty*, *Tetamenes*, *Otenmarhen*, *Kouayon and Meracouman*. All theſe Nations are on the North of the River called *la Maligne*.

Maligne. Those that follow, are on the Weſt and North-Weſt of the ſame River. *Mar.* 1687

The *Kannehouan*, *Tohaha*, *Pihir*, *Cagabegux*, *Onapien*, *Pickar*, *Tokau*, *Kuaſſes*, *Chancres*, *Teſerabocretes*, *Tſepehouen*, *Fercouteha*, *Panego*, *Petao*, *Petzare*, *Peiſacho*, *Peihoun*, *Orcan* and *Piou*. This last Nation borders upon the *Cenis*, at the Entrance into whoſe firſt Village I left my Reader, to give an Account of the Inhabitants, and thither I return, to proceed with my Relation and our Journey to the Village, the *French Man* who liv'd among the Natives was to conduct us to.

We arriv'd there at Night, and found other Elders coming out to meet us, much after the ſame Manner as the others mention'd before. They led us to their Cottage, made us ſit down on Mats and ſmoke, but not with ſo much Ceremony as the others. That done, it was Time for us to take our Reſt, having given them to underſtand that we were weary.

The *French Provencal* would needs have us go to his Cottage, that is to the Hut where he had his Dwelling; for, as I have ſaid, there are ſeveral Families in one of them, and that was one of the greateſt in the Canton, having been the Habitation of one of their Chief's, lately deceaſed. French *Entertained by the Natives.*

They allotted us a Place there, for our Goods and Packs, the Women immediately made *Sagamite* or Pottage, and gave it us. Having eaten, we ask'd the *French* Man whether we were ſafe, and he anſwering we were, we lay down, but yet could not ſleep ſound.

The next Day, being the firſt of *April*, the Elders came to receive and conducted us to the Cottage where we had been the Day before.

After

Apr. 1687

After the uſual Ceremonies, we traded with them for Corn, Meal and Beans, giving in Exchange for the ſame, Needles, Knives, Rings and other Toys. We also purchaſed a very fine Stone Horſe, that would have been worth twenty Piſtoles in *France*, for an Ax.

A Horſe ſold for an Ax.

The Day was ſpent in driving our small Bargains and gathering Proviſions, which the Women brought. When that was done, it was agreed, that I ſhould remain there, to lay up more Store, and that the others ſhould return to our Company, which we had left near the River, to carry the Proviſions and ſatisfy them they might come ſafely.

Tho' I thought my ſelf not over ſecure among the *Indians*, and beſides had the Diſſatisfaction of underſtanding none of their Language; yet was I not unwilling to ſtay, that I might have an Opportunity of ſeeing the two other *French* Men, who had forſaken the late Monſieur *de la Sale*, when he firſt travell'd into that Country, that I might enquire of them, whether they had heard no talk of the *Miſſiſipi* River, for I ſtill held my Reſolution of parting from our wicked Murderers.

As ſoon as they were gone, I gave a young *Indian* a Knife, to go bid thoſe two other *French* Men come to me, and whilſt he was going I drove on my little Trade for Proviſions, and had frequent Viſits from the Elders, who entertain'd me by Signs, with an Account of their intended War; to which I ſtill anſwer'd, nodding my Head, tho' very often I knew not what they meant. It was ſome Difficulty to me to ſecure my ſmall Merchandize, eſpecially at Night, for the Natives were covetous of them.

This

This Care, which kept me from Sleeping found, was the Occaſion, that one Night I heard ſome Body moving near my Bed, and opening my Eyes, by the Light of the Fire, which never goes out in those Cottages, perceiv'd a Man ſtark naked, with a Bow and two Arrows in his Hand, who came and ſat down by me, without ſaying any Thing. I view'd him for ſome Time, I ſpoke to him, he made me no Anſwer, and not knowing what to think of it, I laid hold of my two Piſtols and my Firelock, which the Man perceiving, he went and ſat by the Fire. I follow'd, and looking ſteadfaſtly on him, he knew and ſpoke to me, throwing his Arms about and embracing me, and then made himſelf known to be one of the French Men I had ſent for.

Apr. 1687

The Author meets another French Man among the Indians.

We fell into Diſcourſe, I ask'd him for his Comrade, he told me, he durſt not come, for Fear of Monſieur *de la Sale*. They were both Sailors, this Man, who was of *Britany*, was call'd *Buter*; the other, of *Rochelle*, *Grollet*. They had, in that ſhort Space of Time, ſo perfectly enur'd themſelves to the Cuſtoms of the Natives, that they were become meer Savages. They were naked, their Faces and Bodies with Figures wrought on them, like the rest. They had taken ſeveral Wives, been at the Wars and kill'd their Enemies with their Firelocks, which had gain'd them Reputation; but having no more Powder nor Ball, their Arms were grown uſeleſs, and they had been forc'd to learn to ſhoot with Bows and Arrows. As for Religion, they were not troubled with much of it, and that Libertine Life they led, was pleaſing to them.

French turn'd ſavage.

Apr. 1687

I acquainted this Man with the unfortunate Death of Monſr. *de la Sale*, his Nephew and the reſt, at which, he was ſurpris'd and concern'd, at leaſt in outward Appearance. I ask'd him, whether he had not heard talk of the *Miſſiſipi;* he told me he had not; but only that there was a great River forty Leagues from thence towards the *N. W.* where the Natives ſaid there were many Nations along its Banks. That made me believe, it was the very River we were in Search of, or at leaſt that it muſt be the Way to come at it. I gave him to eat, and we went to Reſt.

The next and the following Days, I continu'd trading, and the Elders their Viſits, and their Diſcourſe by Signs, concerning their intended War. Some of them gave me to underſtand, that they had been among the *Spaniards*, who are nevertheleſs about two hundred Leagues from them. They ſpoke some Words of broken *Spaniſh*, as *Capita*, inſtead of *Capitan*, a Captain, and *Cohavillo* inſtead of *Cavallo*, a Horſe, and ſo of ſome others. *Buter*, the *French* Man return'd to his Dwelling, I gave him ſome Strings of Beads for his Wives, and deſir'd him to send the other *French* Man to me.

Indian Maid brought to the Author.

In the mean Time my being alone, as to any Perſon I could converſe with, grew very irkſome to me, and I know not whether an old Man did not perceive it; for he thought it would be proper to bring a Companion, to divert me, and at Night I was ſurpris'd to ſee a young Maid come ſit down by me, and to hear the old Man tell me, he had brought her to be my Wife, and gave her to me; but I had far different Thoughts to diſturb me. I ſpoke not one

one Word to that poor Maid; ſhe ſtay'd ſome Time expecting I would take notice of her, and perceiving I did not ſtir, or ſpeak one Word, ſhe withdrew. *Apr.* 1687

Thus I continu'd, without hearing any News, till the Sixth of *April*, when the two *French* Men, I have ſpoken of, came both, in the *Indian* Dreſs, each of them having only a Clout about him, ſome Turky Feathers on their Shoulders, their Heads and Feet bare. The latter of them whoſe Name was *Grollet*, had not conſented to have his Face mark'd like the other, nor to cut his Hair after the *Indian* Manner; for those People cut off all theirs, except a ſmall Lock on the Crown of the Head, like the Turks, only some of them have ſmall Treſſes on the Temples. French *Men like* Indians.

I repeated to them the Narrative of Monſieur *de la Sale*'s unfortunate Story. They confirm'd what I had been told before, that the Natives had talk'd to them of the great River, which was forty Leagues off, towards the N. E. and that there were People like us, that dwelt on the Banks of it. This confirm'd me in the Opinion, that it was the River ſo much ſought after, and that we muſt go that Way to return to *Canada* or towards *New England*. They told me, they would willingly go with us. I deſired them to keep it ſecret, which they did not, for being inform'd that Monſieur *Cavelier* and the others were coming, they went to meet them, and I was again left alone.

The 8th, three Men came to me, one of which was the *French* Man of *Provence*, with each of them a Horſe, ſent by our People to carry away all the Proviſions I had got together, having

Apr. 1687

The Murderers reſolve to return to the Habition of St. Lewis.

having taken a Reſolution, as thoſe Perſons they had ſent told us, to return to the Dwelling of St. *Lewis*, about the Bay of the ſame Name, from whence we came; deſigning, as they pretended, to build a Boat there, to carry them over to the Iſlands of *America;* an impracticable Notion, for all our Carpenters were dead, and tho' they had been alive, they were ſo ignorant, that none of them would have known which Way to go about that Work; beſides that, we were deſtitute of all Neceſſaries for that Effect. However we muſt obey, and ſet out with our Proviſions. The Rain having detain'd us the 9th on the Way, we could not come up to them till the next Day, being the Tenth.

Father *Anaſtaſius* gave me the Confirmation of that Design, and farther told me how roughly they had been treated by thoſe Murderers ſince my Departure. I know not what it was that mov'd them to it, but they had reſolved to ſeperate themſelves from thoſe Villains, and that we should eat apart, *viz.* Monſieur *Cavelier* the Prieſt, F. *Anaſtaſius*, young *Cavelier* and I, which was very agreeable to us, becauſe at leaſt we could talk freely, which we durſt not do before; but at the ſame Time they allow'd us no more Proviſions than would ſuffice to keep us from ſtarving, without giving us Share of any Fleſh, tho' they often kill'd.

The Author and others reſolve to part from the Murderers.

Our Tyrants ſtill holding their Reſolution to return to their former Habitation, thought they had not Horſes enough, and therefore deputed four of their Number, one of which was the *French* Man half turn'd *Indian*, to return to the Village of the *Cenis* and endeavour to barter for ſome

ſome. At the ſame Time we agreed together to let thoſe Gentlemen know, that we were too much fatigued to return with them to the ſaid Habitation, and were reſolved to remain in the Village of the *Cenis*. Monſieur *Cavelier* undertook to be our Speaker, and to deſire *Duhaut*, who was Maſter of all, to give us ſome Axes, Knives and Strings of Beads, Powder and Shot, offering to give him a Note of his Hand for the ſame. *Apr.* 1687

To conclude, Monſieur *Cavelier* made the Propoſal to *Duhaut*, diſguis'd it the beſt he was able, and *Duhaut* took till the next Day to return his anſwer. He conſulted with his Companions, and acquainted us, that they would deal handſomely by us, and give us half the Effects and all the Axes, intending to make the moſt Speed they could, to get to our former Dwelling, and to put in Execution what they had before deſign'd, as to the Building of a Bark. But in Caſe they could not ſucceed, for want of Neceſſaries, they would immediately return to us and bring F. *Zenobius* along with them, who would be ſerviceable to us, becauſe, having been with Monſieur *de la Sale* upon his firſt Diſcovery, he underſtood the Language of the Nations about the *Miſſiſipi* River. That whilſt they were upon that Journey, we ſhould take Care to gather a Stock of Proviſions, and that if they ſucceeded in building the Bark, they would ſend us Word, that we might repair to them. Monſieur *Cavelier* approv'd of all they ſaid, tho' we had other Deſigns. However it prov'd we were all Miſtaken, for Providence had order'd Affairs otherwise. *Deſign of the Murderers.*

We

Apr. 1687

We ſtay'd there ſome Time, expecting thoſe who were gone to the *Cenis*, they ſtaying longer than was requiſite for that Journey. The overflowing of the River was their Pretence, but the true Reaſon was the Women, who as I have ſaid, are not ſo forward as to offer themselves, but on the other Hand will not be over difficult in complying for ſome little Preſent, and thoſe who were ſent did not grudge their Time. In the mean while the Poſture of our Affairs changed, as follows.

Murderers change their Mind.

One of our half Savage *French* Men, whom I had acquainted with our Deſign to go find the *Miſſiſipi*, communicated it to *Hautot*, telling him all the particulars he had before acquainted me with; whereupon *Duhaut* chang'd his Mind, as to the Deſign of going to the Habitation of St. *Lewis*, reſolving to follow our intended Way and execute our Project. He imparted his Thoughts to his Companions, who were of the ſame Opinion, and all of them acquainted us, that they were ready to put in Execution the Enterprize we had form'd.

This Change troubled us very much, there being nothing we coveted more than to part with thoſe Miſcreants, from whom we could at a long Run expect no better Uſage than they had afforded our Commander and his Friends. However, it was ſtill requiſite to diſſemble, there being no other Remedy at that Time: But God's Juſtice provided for and reſcued us. We continued in that Camp all the remaining Part of *April*, expecting the Perſons that had been ſent to the *Cenis*, and *Duhaut* intending to begin to put in Execution his Deſign of going to find out the *Miſſiſipi*, with us, made us

us advance towards the River that was near, in order to paſs it as ſoon as fallen, and repair to the Village of the *Cenis*. *May* 1687

We ſtaid three Days longer in that Post, at the End whereof, he we call'd *Larcheveque*, one of thoſe that had been ſent out, croſs'd the River. He was *Duhaut*'s Creature, and an Accomplice in the Murder of Monſieur *de la Sale*. He inform'd *Duhaut*, that one they call'd *Hiens*, who was alſo one of our Meſſengers, and had ſtayed on the other Side of the River, had heard of *Duhaut* and the reſt altering their Reſolution, and that he was not of their Mind. *Hiens* was a *Buccanier*, and by Birth a *German*. Monſieur *de la Sale* had brought him from *Petit Gouave*, and he was alſo acceſſary to the late Murders. *Murderers differ in Opinion.*

After we had been ſome Days longer in the ſame Place, *Hiens* arriv'd with the two half Savage *French* Men and about twenty Natives. He went immediately to *Duhaut*, and after ſome Diſcourſe, told him, he was not for going towards the *Miſſiſipi*, becauſe it would be of dangerous Conſequence for them, and therefore demanded his Share of the Effects he had ſeiz'd upon. *Duhaut* refuſing to comply, and affirming, that all the Axes were his own; *Hiens*, who it is likely had laid the Deſign before to kill him, immediately drew his Piſtol, and fired it upon *Duhaut*, who ſtagger'd about four Paces from the Place and fell down dead. At the ſame Time *Ruter*, who had been with *Hiens*, fired his Piece upon *Liotot*, the Surgeon, and ſhot him thro' with three Balls. Hiens *kills* Duhaut, *and* Ruter Liotot.

Theſe Murders committed before us, put me into a terrible Conſternation; for believing the ſame

May 1687 ſame was deſign'd for me, I laid hold of my Fire-Lock to defend my ſelf; but *Hiens* cry'd out to me, to fear nothing, to lay down my Arms, and aſſur'd me he had no Deſign againſt me; but that he had reveng'd his Maſter's Death. He alſo ſatisfy'd Monſieur *Cavelier* and Father *Anaſtaſius*, who were as much frighted as my ſelf, declaring he meant them no Harm, and that tho' he had been in the Conſpiracy, yet had he been preſent at the Time when Monſieur *de la Sale* was kill'd, he would not have conſented, but rather have obſtructed it.

Liotot liv'd ſome Hours after, and had the good Fortune to make his Confeſſion; after which, the ſame *Ruter*, put him out of his Pain, with a Piſtol-Shot. We dug a Hole in the Earth, and bury'd him in it with *Duhaut*, doing them more Honour than they had done to Monſieur *de la Sale* and his Nephew *Moranget*, whom they left to be devour'd by wild Beaſts. Thus thoſe Murderers met with what they had deſerv'd, dying the ſame Death they had put others to.

The Natives, *Hiens* had brought with him, having been Spectators of that Murder, were in a Conſternation, and that Affair was of dangerous Conſequence to us, who ſtood in Need of them. It was therefore requiſite to make the beſt of it, giving them to underſtand, that there had been Reaſon for ſo puniſhing thoſe dead Perſons, becauſe they had all the Powder and Ball, and would not give any to the reſt. They remain'd ſatisfy'd with that Excuſe, and he who was call'd *Larcheveque*, and who was entirely devoted to *Duhaut*, being Abroad a hunting ſince the Morning, and not knowing what Misfortune

More Miſchief prevented.

tune had hapned his Protector, and *Hiens* being resolv'd to make away with him, Father *Anastasius* and Monsieur *Cavelier* took so much Pains, that they diſſwaded him from it, and I went out and met *Larcheveque*, to give him Notice of that Disaster, and to inform him, how he was to behave himself. Thus I requited him for having come to give me Notice of Monsieur *de la Sale*'s Death. I brought him to *Hiens*, who declar'd he design'd him no Harm, and *Larcheveque* gave him the same Assurances on his Part. Thus all Things are again compos'd, and nothing remain'd, but for us to set out, but first to know what we were to do, and which Way to direct our Course. *May* 1687

Hereupon, *Hiens* took upon him to speak, and said, he had promis'd the Natives to go to the War with them, and design'd to be as good as his Word; that if we would expect his Return, we might by that Time consider which Way he would move, and that in the mean Time we might stay in the Village among the *Cenis*. This was resolv'd on; we loaded all our Effects on our Horses, and repair'd to the same Place and the same Cottage, where we had been before, the Chief of it assigning us the one Half to lodge and lay up our Baggage.

Six French Men go to the Wars with the Natives.

When the Day for setting out for the War was come, *Hiens* departed with the Natives, four of our Comrades and the two half Savage *French* Men going along with him; so that there were six of them, and each took a Horse. *Hiens* left us all the Effects, and desir'd we would stay for him, which we promis'd, not knowing how to avoid it, considering, that the *Indians* might have

May 1687 have done us Harm, and even have obſtructed our Departure. Thus we reſign'd ourſelves to Providence, and remain'd ſix of us together, *viz.* Father *Anaſtaſius*, Monſieur *Cavalier*, his Nephew young *Cavelier*, young *Talon*, another Youth of *Paris*, and I. There alſo remain'd ſome old Men, who could not go to the War, and the Women. We were alſo join'd by two other *French* Men, who had been left on the other Side the River, being the *Provencal* and one *Teiſſier*.

Bewailing the Memory of Men kill'd.

During our Stay, and our Warriors being abroad upon that Expedition, the old Men often viſited us, and told us News from the Army by Signs, which we underſtood nothing of. We were from Time to Time alarm'd, ſeeing the Women weep, without any viſible Cauſe. The late Monſieur *de la Sale* had often told us, that the Women bewail'd thoſe that were to be kill'd; but we were inform'd, that they did ſo, when they call'd to Mind ſome who had been ſlain in the former Wars; which diſpell'd our Apprehenſions. However we were uneaſy, becauſe thoſe old Men and Women examined us every Morning and Evening when we perform'd our Devotions.

We laid hold of that Opportunity to give them to underſtand, that we paid our Duty to one God, the only Supreme Sovereign of all Things, pointing to Heaven, and endeavouring in the beſt Manner we were able, to ſignify to them that he was Almighty, that he had made all Things, that he caus'd the Earth to produce it's Fruits to proſper, and the Growth of it, which maintain'd them to thrive; but this being only by Signs, they did not underſtand us, and we labour'd in vain.

The

The 18th, we were ſurpriz'd to ſee ſeveral Women come into our Cottage, their Faces all beſmear'd with Earth, and they ſet up their Throats, ſinging ſeveral Songs as loud as they were able, whereof we underſtood not one Word. That done, they fell a Dancing in a Ring, and we could not tell, what to think of that Rejoicing, which lasted full three Hours; after which we were inform'd, they had receiv'd Advice of the Victory obtain'd by their Warriors over their Enemies. The Dance concluded, thoſe in the Cottage gave ſome Bits of Tobacco to thoſe without. *May* 1687 *Women rejoice at Victory.*

The ſame Day, about Noon, we ſaw him that had brought the News, who affirm'd they had kill'd at leaſt Forty of their Enemies. After the Rejoicing, all the Women apply'd themſelves to make ready their Proviſions, ſome to pound *Indian* Corn, others to boil Meal, which they call *Groulle*r, and others to bake Bread, to carry to the Warriors. They all ſet out the 19th to meet them, and we thought it in Policy convenient to send Meat to our Men which was done by the *French* Man of *Provence*, who went with the Women.

That ſame Day, at Night, the Victorious Army returned, and we were informed, that their Enemies whom they call *Cannohatinno*, had expected them boldly, but that having heard the Noiſe, and felt the Effects of our Mens Fire Arms, they all fled, ſo that the *Cenis* had either kill'd or taken Forty Eight Men and Women. They had ſlain ſeveral of the latter, who fled to the Tops of Trees, for want of Time to make their Escape otherwiſe; ſo that *Account of the Battle fought by the* Cenis.

May 1687 that many more Women had periſh'd than Men.

Barbarity of the Men towards a Woman taken.

They brought Home two of thoſe Women alive, one of whom had her Head flead for the Sake of her Hair and Skin. They gave that wretched Creature a Charge of Powder and a Ball, and ſent Her home, bidding her carry that Preſent to her Nation, and to aſſure them, they ſhould be again treated after the ſame Manner, that is, kill'd with Fire Arms.

Of the Women.

The other Woman was kept to fall a Sacrifice to the Rage and Vengeance of the Women and Maids; who having arm'd themſelves with thick Stakes, ſharp Pointed at the End, Conducted that Wretch to a By-Place, where each of thoſe Furies began to torment her, ſometimes with the Point of their Staff, and ſometimes laying on her with all their Might. One tore off her Hair, another cut off her Finger, and every one of thoſe outrageous Women endeavour'd to put her to ſome exquisite Torture, to revenge the Death of their Husbands and Kinſmen, who had been kill'd in the former Wars; ſo that the unfortunate Creature expected her Death Stroke, as Mercy.

Inhumanity.

At laſt, one of them gave her a Stroke with a heavy Club on the Head, and another run her Stake ſeveral Times into her Body, with which ſhe fell down Dead on the Spot. Then they cut that miſerable Victim into Morſels, and oblig'd ſome Slaves of that Nation, they had been long poſſeſs'd of to eat them.

Cruel Trophies.

Thus our Warriors return'd Triumphant from that Expedition. They ſpar'd none of the Priſoners they had taken, except two little Boys, and brought Home all the Skins of their Heads

Heads, with the Hair, to be kept as Trophies and glorious Memorials of their Victory. *May* 1687.

The next Day all thoſe Savages met in their Chief's Cottage, whether all the abovemention'd Heads of Hair were carry'd in State. Then they made extraordinary Rejoicings in that Cottage, whence they went to the Huts of the other Prime Men, to perform the ſame Ceremony. This Rejoicing laſted three Days, our *French* Companions, who had been the Cauſe of their Victory, being call'd to it, and highly entertain'd, after their Manner. It will not be diſagreeable to the Reader, that I here particularly deſcribe that Ceremony, which after having been perform'd in the Cottages of the Chief Men, was repeated in ours.

Ceremony of Rejoicing

In the firſt Place, the Cottage was made very clean, adorn'd, and abundant of Mats laid on the Floor, on which the Elders, and the moſt conſiderable Perſons ſate; after which, one of them, who is in the Nature of an Orator, or Maſter of the Ceremonies ſtood up and made a Speech, of which we underſtood not a Word. Soon after that Diſcourse was ended, the Warriors arriv'd, who had ſlain any in Battle, marching in their proper Order, each of them carrying a Bow and two Arrows, and before every one of them went his Wife, carrying the Enemies Head of Hair. Two little Boys, whoſe Lives they had ſpar'd, as has been ſaid before, one of them who was wounded being a Horſeback, clos'd the proceſſion; at the Head whereof, was a Woman carrying a large Reed, or Cane in her Hand.

As they came up to the Orator, the Warrior took the Head of Hair his Wife had brought

May 1687. brought, and preſented it to him, which the ſaid Orator receiv'd with both his Hands, and after having held it out towards the four Quarters of the World, he laid it down on the Ground, and then took the next, performing the ſame Ceremony, till he had gone over them all.

When the Ceremony was ended, they ſerv'd up the *Sagamite*, in the Nature of Haſty Pudding, which thoſe Women had provided, and before any one touch'd it, the Maſter of the Ceremonies took ſome in a Veſſel, which he carry'd as an Offering to thoſe Heads of Hair. Then he lighted a Pipe of Tabacco, and blow'd the Smoke upon them. That being perform'd, they all fell to the Meat, *Bits of the Woman that had been ſacrific'd, were ſerv'd up to the two Boys of her Nation.* They alſo ſerv'd up dry'd Tongues of their Enemies, and the whole concluded with Dancing and Singing after their Manner: After which, they went to other Cottages to repeat the ſame Ceremony.

There was no talk of our Deſign till thoſe Rejoycings were over, and I begn to conceive good Hopes of our Succeſs. The two Murderers, *Teiſſier* and *Larcheveque*, who had both a Hand in the Death of Monſr. *de la Sale*, had promis'd to go along with us, provided Monſr. *Cavelier* would pardon them, and he had given them his Word ſo to do. In this Expectation we continu'd till the 25th, when our French Men, who had been at the War, repair'd to our Cottage, and we conſulted about our Buſineſs.

Hiens

Hiens and others of his Gang, diſapproving of our Deſign, repreſented to us ſuch Difficulties as they look'd upon to be unſurmountable, under which we muſt inevitably periſh, or at leaſt be oblig'd to return to the ſame Place. *Hiens* told us, that for his own Part, he would not hazard his Life to return into *France*, only to have his Head chopp'd off, and perceiving we anſwer'd Nothing to that, but that we perſiſted in our Reſolution. *It is requiſite then*, ſaid he, *to divide what Effects remain.* *May* 1687

Hiens *gives the others what he pleaſes, and ſeizes the reſt of the Effects.*

Accordingly he laid aſide, for F. *Anaſtaſius*, Meſſieurs *Cavelier*, the Uncle and the Nephew, thirty Axes, four or five Dozens of Knives, about thirty Pounds of Powder and the like Quantity of Ball. He gave each of the others two Axes, two Knives, two or three Pounds of Powder, with as much Ball, and kept the reſt. As for the Horſes, he kept the beſt and left us the three leaſt. Monſieur *Cavelier* ask'd him for ſome Strings of Beads, which he granted, and feiz'd upon all the late Monſr. *de la Sale's* Cloaths, Baggage and other Effects, beſides above a thouſand Livres in Money, which belong'd to the late Monſr. *le Gros*, who dy'd at our Dwelling of St. *Lewis*. Before our Departure, it was a ſenſible Affliction to us, to ſee that Villain walk about, in a ſcarlet Coat, with gold Galons, which had belong'd to the late Monſr. *de la Sale*, and which, as I have ſaid, he had ſeiz'd.

Mr. Cavelier *and his Company part from the others.*

After that, *Hiens* and his Companions withdrew to their own Cottage, and we reſolv'd not to put off our Departure any longer. Accordingly, we made ready our Horſes, which much alarm'd the Natives, and eſpecially the Chief

May 1687 Chief of them, who ſaid and did all he could to obſtruct our Journey, promiſing us Wives, Plenty of Proviſions, repreſenting to us the immenſe Dangers, as well from Enemies, who ſurrounded them, as from the bad and impaſſable Ways and the many Woods and Rivers we were to paſs. However, we were not to be moved, and only ask'd one Kindneſs of him, in obtaining of which, there were many Difficulties, and it was, that he would give us Guides to conduct us to *Cappa*; but at length, after much Trouble and many Promiſes of a good Reward, one was granted, and two others went along with him.

All Things being thus order'd for our Departure, we took Leave of our Hoſts, paſs'd by *Heins*'s Cottage and embrac'd him and his Companions. We ask'd him for another Horſe, which he granted. He deſired an Atteſtation in *Latin* of Monſieur *Cavelier*, that he had not been concern'd in the Murder of Monſieur *de la Sale*, which was given him, becauſe there was no refuſing of it; and we ſet forward without *Larcheveque* and *Meunier*, who did not keep their Word with us, but remain'd among thoſe Barbarians, being infatuated with that Courſe of Libertiniſm they had run themſelves into. Thus there were only ſeven of us that ſtuck together to return to *Canada*, *viz.* Father *Anaſtaſius*, Meſſieurs *Cavelier* the Uncle and the Nephew, the Sieur *de Marle*, one *Teiſſier*, a young Man born at *Paris*, whose Name was *Bartholomew* and I, with ſix horſes and the three *Indians*, who were to be our Guides; a very ſmall Number for ſo great an Enterprize, but we put ourſelves entirely into the Hands of Divine Providence, con-

French *Men ſtay with the* Indians.

Only ſeven ſet out for Canada.

confiding in God's Mercy, which did not forſake us. *May* 1687

After the firſt Day's Journey we incamp'd on the Bank of the River, we had left not long before, lay there that Night, and the next Day, cut down Trees to make a Sort of Bridge or Planks to paſs over it; handing over our Goods from one to another, and ſwimming over our Horſes; which Work we were frequently oblig'd to repeat, and as often as we had afterwards Occaſion to paſs Rivers on our Way, which we held on till the 29th, every Day meeting with ſome Cottage, and at laſt, a Hamlet or Village, into which we went, and the *Indian* Inhabitants told us, they were call'd *Nahordikhe*, and that they were Allies to the *Cenis*.

We barter'd with them for ſome Proviſions, and their Chief offer'd to go with us as far as the *Aſſonys*, who were not farther off than about three Leagues, which he accordingly did; but it happening to rain when we came thither, and the *Aſſonys* having had no Notice before hand, we found but indifferent Reception. Nahordikhes *and* Affony

However, we were conducted to the Chief's Cottage; the Elders had Notice given them, they reſorted thither, and when our Horſes were unloaded, and our Goods plac'd in a Corner of the Cottage, which the Chief had allotted us, we gave them to underſtand, that our Intention was to go farther, to fetch Commodities to trade with them, at which they were pleas'd. They gave us to eat, and the Elders ſtay'd ſome Part of the Evening with us, which made us ſomewhat Uneaſy, and oblig'd us to

June 1687 to be upon our Guard; however the Night paſs'd without any Diſturbance.

The next Morning the Elders came to us again. They had provided Mats without the Cottage, and made Signs to us to go thither and ſit down upon them, as we did, leaving two of our Company to guard the Baggage. We repeated to them what we had ſaid the Night before, and made them ſome Preſents of Axes, Knives, Strings of Beads and Rings. They ſignify'd they were ſorry we would go away, and endeavour'd the beſt they could, to make us ſenſible of the ſame Obſtacles the others had ſignify'd to us; but it was all in Vain; however, we ſtay'd till the firſt of *June*, all the while bartering and gathering the beſt ſtock of Proviſions we could.

Good Entertainment

The Second, we remov'd from that Cottage, where we had ſome Jealouſy, and went to another, a Quarter of a League from it, where the Chief of it gave us a very good Reception, An old Woman, who was either his Mother, or Governeſs of the Cottage, took particular Care of us: We were firſt ſerv'd at eating, and to keep her in that good Mind, we now and then made her ſome little Preſents, whilſt ſhe, by her Care and Kindneſs, ſpar'd our Proviſions, which were neceſsary for our Journey.

A continual Rain oblig'd us to ſtay there till the 13th. During our Stay, the Natives made ſeveral Feaſts, to which we were always invited; and at length the Rain ceaſing, we reſolv'd to ſet out, notwithſtanding all Monſieur *Cavelier* and the Prieſt's Apprehenſions, which we ſurmounted, and directed our Courſe

Courſe towards the *N. E.* with two *Indians*, who were to conduct us only a ſmall Way, and who accordingly ſoon left us, whatſoever Promiſes we could make them. They departed to return Home, promiſing they would come to us again. We encamp'd that Night on the Bank of a Rivulet. *June* 1687

The 14th and 15th, we held on our Way, frequently meeting with Sloughs, which very much fatigued us, because we were oblig'd to unload our Horſes for them to paſs, and prevent their ſticking in the Mire and fat Soil, whence we could not have drawn them out, and conſequently we were fain to carry all our Luggage on our own Backs. *Bad Ways.*

Whilſt we halted about Noon, that our Horſes might graze, as was uſually done by us, we diſcover'd our two *Aſſony Indians* returning towards us, at which we were much rejoiced, becauſe they had a better Notion than ourſelves of the Way we were to go. We made them eat and ſmoke, and then ſet out again.

The 16th, we came to a great River, which we paſs'd as we had done the firſt, and after that, met with very bad Ways.

The 17th, one of our Company being indiſpos'd, we could not ſet out till Noon, and held on till the 21ſt, croſſing ſeveral Sloughs and Rivers, and then one of our *Indians* being out of Order, it oblig'd us to ſtay on the Bank of a River we had paſs'd. The other *Indian* ſeeing his comrade ſick, went a Hunting, and brought a wild Goat; for there are many in that Country. The *Indians* have the Art of dreſſing the Heads of thoſe Creatures, which they put upon their

June 1687 their own, and imitate them ſo exactly, that they can come very near to them, and then ſeldom fail of killing. The ſame Method they uſe for Turkeys and other wild Fowl, and ſo draw them cloſe to themſelves.

Art to Kill Goats and Wild Fowl.

The 22d, our *Indian* being ſomewhat recover'd we decamp'd and proceeded along a better Way and pleaſanter Country, than that we had left behind, and as we enquir'd the beſt we could of thoſe our *Indians*, concerning the Neighbouring Nations and thoſe we were going towards, among others they nam'd to us, that they call'd *Cappa*. M. *Cavelier* told us, he remember'd he had heard his late Brother Monſieur *de la Sale* name that Nation, and ſay he had ſeen it as he went from *Canada* towards the *Miſſiſipi*. This put us in Hopes, that we ſhould ſucceed in our Diſcovery.

Fine Meadows.

The 23d, being near a Village, we had been in Search of, one of our *Indians* went before, to give Notice of our Arrival. In the mean Time we croſs'd moſt lovely Plains and Meadows, border'd with fine Groves of beautiful Trees, where the Graſs was ſo high, that it hinder'd our Horſes going, and we were oblig'd to clear the Paſſage for them.

When we were within Half a League of the Village, we ſaw an *Indian*, mounted on a large grey Mare, coming along with our Native, to meet us, and were told, that Horſeman was the Chief of the Village, attended by ſome others of the ſame Place. As ſoon as that Chief came up to us, he expreſs'd very much Kindneſs and Affection; we gave him to underſtand, that we did no Body any Harm, unleſs we were firſt attack'd. Then we made him ſmoke, and when that

that was done, he made Signs to us to follow him, which we did, till we came to the Bank of a River, where he again deſir'd us to ſtay, whilſt he went to give Notice to the Elders. *June* 1687

Soon after, a Number of them came, and having join'd us, ſignify'd, that they were come to carry us to their Village. Our *Indians* made Signs, that it was the Cuſtom of the Country, and we muſt ſubmit, and let them do as they thought fit. Tho' we were much out of Countenance at that Ceremony, ſeven of the prime Men among them would have us mount on their Backs or Shoulders. Monſieur *Cavelier* being our Chief, mounted firſt, and then the reſt did the ſame. M. Cavelier *and the reſt carry'd on the Backs of Indians.*

As for my own Part, being of a pretty large Size and loaded with Cloaths, a Firelock, a Caſe of Piſtols, Powder and Ball, a Kettle and other Implements, there is no Doubt but I made a ſufficient Burden for him that carry'd me, and becauſe I was taller than he and my Feet would have hung upon the Ground, two other *Indians* held them up for me; ſo that I had three to carry me. Other *Indians* took hold of our Horſes to lead them, and in that ridiculous Equipage we arriv'd at the Village. Our Carriers, who had gone a long Quarter of a League, had need enough to reſt, and we to be ſet down, that we might laugh in private, for it behov'd us to take Care not to do it before them.

As ſoon as we were come to the Chief's Cottage, where we found above two hundred Perſons, who were come to ſee us, and that our Horſes were unloaded, the Elders gave us to underſtand, that it was their Cuſtom to waſh *Ceremonies at their Reception.*

Strangers

June 1687 Strangers at their firſt Coming; but that we being clad, they would only waſh our Faces; which one of thoſe elders did, with fair Water they had in a Sort of Earthen Veſſel, and he only waſh'd our Forehead.

Speeches made to them. After this second Ceremony, the Chief made Signs to us, to ſit down on a Sort of little Scaffold, rais'd about 4 Foot above the Ground, and made of Wood and Canes, where when we were plac'd, the Chiefs of the Villages being four in Number, came and made Speeches to us, one after another. We liſtened to them with Patience, tho' we underſtood not one Word of what they ſaid to us; being tir'd with the Length of their Harangues, and much more with the violent Heat of the Sun, which was juſt over our Heads.

When the Speeches were ended, the Purport whereof, as near as we could gueſs, was only to aſſure us, that we were very welcome; we gave them to underſtand, that we were going into our own Country, deſigning to return ſpeedily, to bring them ſeveral Sorts of Commodities and ſuch Things as they ſhould ſtand in need of.

Next, we made them the uſual Preſents of Axes, Knives, Strings of Beads, Needles and Pins, for their Wives, telling them, that when we return'd we would give them more.

Their Entertainment. We farther ſignify'd to them, that if they would afford us ſome Corn or Meal, we would give them other Things in Exchange, which they agreed to. After this they made us eat *Sagamite*, or Haſty-pudding, Bread, Beans, Pompions and other Things, which we had ſufficient Need

Need of. Moſt of us having ſcarce eaten any Thing all that Day, ſome for Want, and others out of Devotion, as Monſr. *Cavelier*, who would obſerve the Faſt of St. *John Baptiſt*'s Eve, whoſe Name he bore. It is to be obſerv'd, that the Pompions are incomparably better there, than with us. *June* 1687

The 24th, the Elders met again in our Cottage. We gave them to underſtand, they would oblige us, in furniſhing Guides to conduct us to the Village of *Cappa*, which was in our Way; but inſtead of granting it, they earneſtly intreated us, to ſtay with them and go to the Wars againſt their Enemies, having been told Wonders of our Firelocks, which we promis'd to do when we return'd, and that it ſhould be ſhortly, and they ſeem'd to reſt ſatisfy'd.

Thus our Hopes increas'd, but the Joy it occaſion'd was allay'd by a diſmal Accident that befell us. Monſieur *de Marle*, one of the prime Men of our Company, having Breakfaſted, would needs go Bath himſelf in the River we had paſs'd the Day before, and not knowing how to ſwim, he went too far and ſtep'd into a Hole, whence he could not recover himſelf, but was unfortunately drowned. Young Monſieur *Cavelier*, having been told that Monsieur *de Marle* was going to Bath himſelf, ran after him, and coming to the River, ſaw he was drowning, he ran back to acquaint us: We haſted thither with a Number of *Indians*, who were there before us; but all too late, ſome of them div'd, and brought him up dead from the Bottom of the Water.

Mr. de Marle *drown'd.*

We

June 1687

His Funeral.

We carry'd him to the Cottage, ſhedding many Tears, the *Indians* bore Part in our Sorrow, and we paid him the laſt Duties, offering up the uſual Prayers; after which he was buryed in a ſmall Field, behind the Cottage; and whereas, during that doleful Ceremony, we pray'd, reading in our Books, particularly Monſieur *Cavelier*, the Prieſt and Father *Anaſtaſius*, the *Indians* gaz'd on us with Amazement, becauſe we talk'd, looking upon the Leaves, and we endeavour'd to give them to understand, that we pray'd to God for the dead Man, pointing up to Heaven.

Humanity of the Indians.

We muſt do this Right to those good People, as to declare, that they expreſs'd ſingular Humanity upon that doleful Accident, as appear'd by the ſenſible Teſtimony of their Actions, and all the Methods they us'd to let us underſtand how great a Share they bore in our Sorrow; which we ſhould not have found in ſeveral Parts of *Europe*.

Indian Ceremony to the Dead.

During our ſhort Stay in that Place, we obſerv'd a Ceremony that was perform'd by the Chief's Wife, *viz.* that every Morning ſhe went to Monſieur *de Marle*'s Grave, and carry'd a little Basket of parch'd Ears of Corn to lay on it, the meaning whereof we could not underſtand. Before our Departure, we were inform'd, that the Villages belonging to our Hoſts, being four in Number, all ally'd together were call'd, *Aſſony*, *Nathoſos*, *Nachitos* and *Cadodaquio*.

Indian Nations.

On the 27th, having been inform'd by the Natives, that we ſhould find Canoes, to paſs a River that was on our Way. Father *Anaſtaſius* and I went to ſee whether, what they told us

was

was true. We found that River was a Branch of the ſame we had already paſs'd, the Channel of it being pleaſant and navigable, and ſaw ſome Canoes, in one of which the *Indians* carry'd us over to the other Side, whether we went to ſee what convenient Place there was for our Horſes to come aſhore. We found a very proper Place, and returning, made our Report to Monſieur *Cavelier*, who being then much out of Order with Pains in his Feet, we were oblig'd to ſtay there, till the 30th. *June* 1687

During that Time, we were frequently viſited by the *Indians*, both Old and Young, and of both Sexes, and even the Chiefs of the Nation, call'd *Janiquo*, came to see us, and with them we often convers'd in dumb Show, and every Evening the Women, attended by the Warriors, with their Bows and Arrows, reſorted to our Cottage, to ſing a doleful Sort of Song, ſhedding Tears at the ſame Time. This would have given us ſome Uneaſiness, had we not before ſeen the ſame Ceremony, and been inform'd, that thoſe Women repair in that Manner to the Chief's Cottage, to intreat him, ſinging and weeping, to take Revenge on thoſe, who have kill'd their Husbands, or Relations, in former Wars, as I have obſerv'd before. In all other Reſpects, the Manners and Cuſtoms of this Nation, being much the ſame as thoſe of the *Cenis*, I ſhall add no more concerning them. *Janiquo Nation.* *Doleful Entertainment.*

The 29th, at Night, we gave Notice to the Chief, that we would ſet out the next Day, we made him ſome Preſents in particular, and the like to his Wife, becauſe ſhe had taken special Care of us, and departed on the 30th. The Chief,

June 1687 Chief, attended by many other *Indians*, whom we found in the Cottages on our Way, went to Conduct us as far as the River, which we croſs'd in Canoes, and ſwam over our Horſes. There we took Leave of our Conductors, to whom we gave some Strings of Beads for their Wives, and their Chief would needs Conduct us to the next Village.

Cadodaquio *Village.*

By the Way we came to a Cottage, where our Guide made us halt, and there they gave us to eat. Then we held on our Journey to a Village call'd *Cadodaquio*, and were conducted to the Chief's Cottage, who receiv'd us courteouſly, being a Friend to him that went with us. It was requiſite to unload our Horſes to lie there, and we ſignified to the Chief, that we ſtood in Need of Proviſions. He ſpoke to the Women, who brought us ſome Meal, which we purchaſed with Strings of Beads, and the Chief, who conducted us thither, took his Leave.

Having no Deſign to ſtay there any Time, we had deſired the Chief to appoint ſome Perſon to guide us to the Village call'd *Cahainihoua*, which was in our Way. It happen'd by good Fortune, that there were then in that Place ſome Men and Women of the ſaid Village, who who were come to fetch ſome Wood, fit to make Bows, there being Plenty of that Sort of Trees they make them of, about the Village we were in. We signify'd our Deſign to them and they gave us to underſtand they would be glad to bear us Company. In the Converſation we had with them, they made us comprehend, that they had ſeen People like us, who had Firelocks and a Houſe, and that they were acquainted with the *Cappa's*, which was very pleaſing to us.

Becauſe

Becauſe they were not to depart till two Days after, we reſolv'd to ſtay for them. *June* 1687

We obſerv'd, that there was a Difference between the Language of thoſe People and the Inhabitants of the Village we were in, from that of the *Cenis*, and that they had some peculiar Ceremonies, one whereof is, that when the Women have their Terms, they leave the Company of their Husbands and withdraw into other Cottages appointed for that Purpoſe, which no Perſon is to come near, upon Pain of being reputed unclean. *Peculiar Cuſtom.*

Thoſe Women have their Faces ſtill more diſſigur'd, than the others we had ſeen before; for they make ſeveral Streaks, or Scores on them, whereas the others had but one. They adorn themſelves with little Locks of fine red Hair; which they make faſt to their Ears, in the Nature of Pendants. In other Reſpects they are not diſagreeable, and neither Women nor Maids are ſo ill-natur'd as to make their Lovers pine for them. They are not difficult of Acceſs, and they ſoon make a Return for a ſmall Preſent. *Ornaments of Women.*

The Men wear their Hair ſhort, like our *Capucins*, they anoint it with a ſort of Oyl, or Greaſe, and curl it like ſnails, after which they ſtrew on it a Sort of Down, or Lint, died red, as we do Powder, which is done when they deſign to be very fine, in order to appear in their Aſſemblies. They are very fond of their Children, and all the Way of chaſtiſing them they uſe, is to throw Water at them, without ever beating or giving them ill Words. *The Men.*

The

July 1687 The *Indians* that were of the Village of *Cohainihoua* and to conduct us thither, not being ready to ſet out on *Wedneſday* the 2d of *July*, as they had promis'd, a young *Indian* offer'd himſelf, ſaying, he would conduct us ſafe thither, and we ſet out with him, ſtill directing our Courſe towards the *N. E.* We kept cloſe along the ſame River we had croſs'd, and found it very pleaſant and navigable, the Banks of it cover'd with fine Trees of ſeveral Sorts.

We had not travell'd above a League, before our Guide gave us to underſtand, that he had forgot a Piece of hard dry'd Skin he had to make him Shoes, which he would go fetch and return to us, pointing to us with his Hand, which Way we were to go, and telling us we ſhould ſoon come to a River.

This ſudden Change in the *Indian* was ſomewhat ſurprizing and very much perplex'd us; however we held on our Way, and ſoon came to the River he had mention'd to us, which was very pleaſant and deep. We croſs'd it the next Day, on a Sort of Float, which we made with much Toil and Labour, and our Horſes ſwam over. Some Time after we were paſſed, we ſaw the *Indians* coming, who had promiſed to bear us Company, and were glad to find our Float, to croſs the ſame River, as they did, and proceeded on our Journey all together.

Plenty of Game. The 4th, 5th and 6th, we did the ſame, croſſing a very fine Country, but water'd by many Brooks, Streams and Rivers. We found Abundance of wild Goats, Turkeys and other wild Fowl, whereof our *Indians* kill'd many.

On the 6th, whilſt we halted on the Bank of a River to eat, we heard the Tingling of ſome ſmall

ſmall Bells; which making us look about, we ſpy'd an *Indian* with a naked Sword-Blade in his Hand, adorned with Feathers of ſeveral Colours, and two large Hawks Bells, that occaſion'd the Noiſe we had heard. *July* 1687

He made Signs for us to come to him, and gave us to underſtand, that he was ſent by the Elders of the Village, whither we were going, to meet us, careſſing us after an extraordinary Manner. I obſerv'd that it was a Spaniſh Blade he had, and that he took Pleaſure in ringing the Hawks Bells.

Having travell'd about half a League with him, we diſcover'd a Dozen of other *Indians* coming towards us, who made very much of and conducted us the Village, to the Chief's Cottage, where we found dry'd Bear-Skins laid on the Ground, and they made us ſit on them, where we were treated with Eatables, as were the Elders after us, and a Throng of Women came to ſee us. *Kind Reception.*

The 7th, the Elders came to give us a Viſit, bringing us two Bullocks Hides, four Otters Skins, one white Wild-Goat's Skin, all of them well dry'd, and 4 Bows, in Return for the Preſent we had before made them. The Chief and another came again ſome Time after, bringing two Loaves, the fineſt and the best we had yet ſeen. They look'd as if they had been bak'd in an Oven, and yet we had not obſerv'd, that there were Ovens among any of them. That Chief ſtay'd with us ſome Hours, he ſeem'd to be very ingenious and diſcreet, and eaſily underſtood our Signs, which were moſt of the Language we had. Having order'd a little Boy to bring us all we had Occaſion for, he withdrew. *Preſents.*

Towards

July 1687

The Ceremony of the Pipe.

Towards the Evening, we were entertain'd with aCeremony we had not ſeen before. ACompany of Elders, attended by ſome young Men and Women came to our Cottage in a Body, ſinging as loud as they could roar. The foremoſt of them had a *Calumet*, ſo they call a very long Sort of Tabacco Pipe, adorn'd with ſeveral Sorts of Feathers. When they had ſung a while, before our Cottage, they enter'd it, ſtill ſinging on, for about a Quarter of an Hour. After that, they took Monſieur *Cavelier* the Prieſt, as being our Chief, led him in ſolemn Manner out of the Cottage, ſupporting him under the Arms. When they were come to a Place they had prepared, one of them laid a great Handful of Graſs on his feet, two others brought fair Water in an Earthen Dish, with which they waſh'd his Face, and then made him ſit down on a Skin, provided for that Purpoſe.

When Monſieur *Cavelier* was ſeated, the Elders took their Places, ſitting round about him, and the Maſter of the Ceremonies fix'd in the Ground two little wooden Forks, and having laid a Stick acroſs them, all being painted red, he placed on them a Bullock's Hide, dryed, a Goat's Skin over that, and then laid the Pipe thereon.

The Song was begun again, the Women mixing in the Chorus, and the Concert was heightned by great hollow Calabaſhes or Gourds, in which there were large Gravel Stones, to make a Noiſe, the *Indians* ſtriking on them by Meaſure, to anſwer the Tone of the Choir; and the pleaſanteſt of all was, that one of the *Indians* plac'd himſelf behind Monſieur *Cavelier* to hold him

him up, whilſt at the ſame Time he ſhook and dandled him from Side to Side, the Motion anſwering to the Muſick. *July* 1687

That Concert was ſcarce ended, when the Maſter of the Ceremonies brought two Maids, the one having in her Hand a Sort of Collar, and the other an Otter's Skin, which they plac'd on the wooden Forks abovemention'd, at the Ends of the Pipe. Then he made them ſit down, on each Side of Monſieur *Cavelier*, in such a Poſture, that they look'd one upon the other, their Legs extended and intermix'd, on which the ſame Maſter of the Ceremonies laid Monſieur *Cavelier's* Legs, in ſuch Manner, that they lay uppermoſt and acroſs thoſe of the two Maids.

Whilſt this Action was perſorming, one of the Elders made faſt a dy'd Feather to the back Part of Monſieur *Cavelier's* Head, tying it to his Hair. The Singing ſtill continu'd all that Time, ſo that Monſieur *Cavelier* grown weary of its Tedioufneſs, and aſham'd to ſee himſelf in that Poſture between two Maids, without knowing to what Purpoſe, made Signs to us to ſignify the ſame to the Chief, and having given him to underſtand, that he was not well, two of the *Indians* immediately took hold of him under the Arms, conducted him back to the Cottage and made Signs to him to take his Reſt. This was about Nine in the Evening, and the *Indians* ſpent all the Night in Singing, insomuch that ſome of them could hold out no longer.

In the Morning they return'd to Monſieur *Cavelier*, conducted him again out of the Cottage, with the ſame Ceremony and made him ſit down, ſtill ſinging on. Then the Maſter of the Ceremonies took the Pipe, which he fill'd with

July 1687 with Tabacco, lighted and offered it to Monſieur *Cavelier*, but drawing back and advancing ſix Times before he gave it him. Having at laſt put it into his Hands, Monſieur *Cavelier* made as if he had ſmok'd and return'd it to them. Then they made us all ſmoke round, and every one of them whiff'd in his Turn, the Muſick ſtill continuing.

About Nine in the Morning, the Sun growing very hot, and Monſieur *Cavelier* being bare Headed, made Signs that it did him Harm. Then at laſt they gave over ſinging, and conducted him back into the Cottage, took the Pipe, put it into a Caſe, made of a Wild-Goat's Skin, with the two wooden Forks and the red Stick that lay acroſs them, all which one of the Elders offer'd to Monſieur *Cavelier*, aſſuring him that he might paſs thro' all the Nations that were ally'd to them by Virtue of that Token of Peace, and ſhould be every where well receiv'd. This was the firſt Place where we ſaw the *Calumet*, or Pipe of Peace, having no Knowledge of it before, as ſome have writ. This Nation is call'd *Cahaynohoua*.

Cahaynohoua *Nation.*

This Sort of Ceremonies being never perform'd among the *Indians* without the Expectation of receiving ſome Preſent, and we having beſides obſerv'd, that ſome of them had withdrawn themſelves, with Tokens of Diſſatisfaction, perhaps becauſe we had interrupted their Ceremony, we thought it convenient to give them ſomething more, and I was appointed to carry them an Ax, four Knives and ſome Strings of Beads, with which they were ſatisfied.

Indians *expect Preſents.*

We

We afterwards ſhew'd them an Experiment of our Arms, the Noiſe and Fire whereof frighted them. They earneſtly preſs'd us to ſtay with them, offering us Wives and whatſoever elſe we ſhould want. To be the better quit of them, we promis'd to return, ſaying we were going to fetch Commodities, Arms and Tools, which we ſtood in Need of, that we might afterwards ſtay with them. *July* 1687

The 9th and 10th were ſpent in Viſits, and we were inform'd by one of the *Indians* that we were not far from a great River, which he deſcrib'd with a Stick on the Sand, and ſhew'd it had two Branches, at the ſame Time pronouncing the word *Cappa*, which, as I have ſaid, is a Nation near the *Miſſiſipi*. We then made no longer Queſtion, that we were near what we had been ſo long looking after. We entreated the Elders to appoint ſome men to conduct us, promiſing to reward them well, which they granted, and we ſet out the 11th, to the great Sorrow of thoſe good People, who had entertain'd us so courteouſly.

The Journey proſecuted.

We travell'd ſeveral different Ways, which we could never have found, had we wanted Guides, and ſo proceeded till on the 12th, one of our Guides pretended to be ſick, and made Signs that he would go back; but obſerving, that we ſeem'd to be no Way concern'd, which we did on Purpoſe, he conſulted with his Companion, and then came to tell us, he was recover'd. We made him eat and ſmoke, and continued our Journey the 13th, finding the Way very bad and difficult.

The

July 1687 The 14th, our *Indians*, having ſeen the Track of Bullocks, ſignify'd they would go kill ſome, to eat the Fleſh, which made us halt for two or three Hours. Whilſt we ſtay'd for our Hunters, we prepar'd ſome *Sagamite*, or their Sort of Haſty-Pudding. They return'd loaded with Fleſh, Part whereof we dreſs'd, and eat it with very good Stomachs. Then we proceeded on our Journey till the 18th, and by the Way kill'd three Bullocks and two Cows, which oblig'd us to halt, that we might make uſe of our Fleſh, drying it.

The Night between the 19th and the 20th, one of our Horſes breaking looſe, was either taken away by the Natives, or loſt in the Woods. That did not obſtruct our Departure, tho' the Loſs was grievous to us, and we held on our Way till the 24th, when we met a Company of *Indians*, with Axes, going to fetch Barks of Trees, to cover their Cottages. They were ſurpriz'd to ſee us, but having made Signs to them to draw near, they came, careſs'd and preſented us with ſome Water Melons they had. They put off their Deſign of going to fetch Bark till another Time, and went along with us, and one off our Guides having gone before in the Morning to give Notice of our coming at the next Village, met with other Parcels of *Indians*, who were coming to meet us, and expreſs'd extraordinary Kindneſs.

Indians with Axes.

We halted in one of their Cottages, which they call *Deſert*, becauſe they are in the Midſt of their Fields and Gardens. There we found ſeveral Women who had brought Bread, Gourds, Beans and Water Melons, a Sort of Fruit proper

per to quench Thirſt, the Pulp of it being no better than Water. *July* 1687

We ſet out again to come to the Village, and by the Way, met with very pleaſant Woods, in which, there were Abundance of ſtately Cedars. Being come to a River, that was between us and the Village, and looking over to the further Side, we diſcover'd a great Croſs, and at a ſmall Diſtance from it, a House, built after the *French* Faſhion.

A Croſs by a River and a French built Houſe.

It is eaſy to imagine what inward Joy we conceiv'd at the Sight of that Emblem of our Salvation. We knelt down, lifting up our Hands and Eyes to Heaven, to return Thanks to the Divine Goodneſs, for having conducted us ſo happily; for we made no Queſtion of finding *French* on the other Side of the River, and of their being Catholicks, ſince they had Croſſes.

In ſhort, having halted ſome Time on the Bank of that River, we ſpy'd ſeveral Canoes making towards us, and two Men cloath'd, coming out of the Houſe we had diſcover'd, who, the Moment they ſaw us, fir'd each of them a Shot to ſalute us. An *Indian* being Chief of the Village, who was with them, had done ſo before, and we were not backward in returning their Salute, by diſcharging all our Pieces.

When we had paſs'd the River, and were all come together, we ſoon knew each other to be *French* Men. Thoſe we found were the Sieurs *Couture Charpantier* and *de Launay*, both of them of *Roan*, whom Monſieur *de Tonty*, Governor of Fort St. *Lewis* among the *Iſlinois*, had left at that Poſt, when he went down the *Miſ-*

Dwelling of French.

ſiſipi

July 1687 *ſiſipi* to look after Monſr. *de la Sale*; and the Nation we were then with, was call'd *Accancea.*

The Travellers come to the French Habitation.

It is hard to expreſs the Joy conceiv'd on both Sides; ours was unſpeakable, for having at laſt found, what we had ſo earneſtly deſired, and that the Hopes of returning to our dear Country, was in ſome Measure aſſured by that happy Diſcovery. The others were pleaſed to ſee ſuch Persons as might bring them News of that Commander, from whom they expected the Performance of what he had promis'd them; but the Account we gave them of Monſr. *de la Sale*'s unfortunate Death, was so afflicting, that it drew Tears from them, and the diſmal Hiſtory of his Troubles and Diſaſters render'd them almost inconſolable.

We were conducted to the Houſe, whither all our Baggage was honeſtly carry'd by the *Indians.* There was a very great Throng of thoſe People, both Men and Women, which being over, we came to the Relation of the particular Circumſtances of our Stories. Ours was deliver'd by Monſieur *Cavelier*, whom we honour'd as our Chief, for being Brother to him, who had been ſo.

Who the Frenchmen were.

We were inform'd by them, that they had been Six, ſent by Monſr. *Tonty*, when he return'd from the Voyage he had made down the *Colbert* or *Miſſiſipi* River, purſuant to the Orders ſent him by the late Monſr. *de la Sale*, at his Departure from *France*, and that the ſaid Sieur *Tonty* had commanded them to build the aforesaid House. That having never ſince receiv'd any News from the ſaid Monſr. *de la Sale*

Sale, Four of them were gone back to Monſr. *Tonty*, at the Fort of the *Iſlinois*. *July* 1687

In Concluſion, it was agreed among us, to go away as ſoon as poſſible, towards the *Iſlinois*, and conceal from the *Indians*, the Death of Monſieur *de la Sale*, to keep them ſtill in Awe and under Submiſſion, whilſt we went away with the firſt Ships that ſhould happen to ſail from *Canada* for *France*, to give an Account at Court of what had happen'd, and to procure Succours. In the mean Time, the Chief of the *Indians* came to invite us to eat. We found Mats laid on the Ground for us to ſit on, and all the Village met to ſee us.

We gave them to underſtand, that we came from Monſieur *de la Sale*, who had made a Settlement on the Bay of *Mexico*; that we had paſs'd thro' many Nations, which we nam'd, and that we were going to *Canada* for Commodities, and would return down the River; that we would bring Men to defend them againſt their Enemies and then ſettle among them; that the Nations we had paſs'd through had appointed Men to guide us, and we deſired the ſame Favour of them, with ſome Canoes and Proviſions, and that we would reward our Guides and pay for what they furniſh'd us. *Kind* Indians.

The Conveniency of an Interpreter, we then had, gave us the Opportunity of making ourſelves be eaſily underſtood, and the Chief anſwer'd to our Propoſals, that he would ſend Men to the other Villages to acquaint them with our Demands, and to conſult with them what was to be done in that Caſe; that as for the reſt, they were amaz'd at our having paſs'd

July 1687 paſs'd thro' ſo many Nations, without having been detain'd, or kill'd, conſidering what a ſmall Number we were.

When the Diſcourſe was ended, that Chief caus'd Meat to be ſet before us, as dry'd Fleſh, Bread made of *Indian* Corn of ſeveral Sorts, and Water Melons; after which he made us ſmoke, and then we return'd to our Houſe, where being eas'd of all thoſe Impediments, we gave each other an Account of our Affairs, at Leiſure, and were inform'd, that those People impatiently expected the Return of Monſieur *de la Sale*, which confirm'd us in the Reſolution of concealing his Death. We obſerv'd the Situation of that Poſt, and were made acquainted with the Nature of the Country and the Manners of thoſe People, of which I ſhall give the following Remarks.

French *Houſe among the* Acconcea's *deſcrib'd.*

The Houſe we were then in, was built of Pieces of Cedar laid one upon another, and rounded away at the Corners. It is ſeated on a ſmall Eminency, half a Musket-ſhot from the Village, in a Country abounding in all Things. The Plains lying on one Side of it, are ſtor'd with Beeves, wild Goats, Deer, Turkeys, Buſtards, Swans, Ducks, Teal and other Game.

Product of the Country.

The Trees produce plenty of Fruit, and very good, as Peaches, Plumbs, Mulberries, Grapes, and Wallnuts. They have a Sort of Fruit they call *Piaguimina*, not unlike our Medlars, but much better and more delicious. Such as live near the Rivers, as that Houſe is, do not want for Fiſh of all Sorts, and they have *Indian* Wheat, whereof they make good Bread. There are alſo fine Plains diverſify'd with ſeveral Sorts of Trees, as I have ſaid before.

The

The Nation of the *Accancea's* conſiſts of four Villages. The firſt is call'd *Otſotchove*, near which we were; the ſecond *Toriman*, both of them ſeated on the River; the third *Tonginga*; and the fourth *Cappa*, on the Bank of the *Miſſiſipi*. Theſe Villages are built after a different Manner from the others we had ſeen before, in this Point, that the Cottages, which are alike as to their Materials and Rounding at the Top, are long, and cover'd with the Bark of Trees, and ſo very large, that ſeveral of them can hold two hundred Perſons, belonging to ſeveral Families. *July* 1687

Nation of the Accancea's.

The people are not ſo neat as the *Cenis*, or the *Aſſonis* in their Houſes, for ſome of them lie on the Ground, without any Thing under them but ſome Mats, or a dreſs'd Hide. However, ſome of them have more Conveniencies, but the Generality has not. All their Moveables conſiſt in ſome Earthen Veſſels and oval wooden Platters, which are neatly made, and with which they drive a Trade. *Houſhold Stuff.*

They are generally very well ſhap'd and active; the Women are handſome, or at leaſt have a much better Preſence than thoſe of the other Villages we paſs'd thro' before. They make Canoes all of one Piece, which are well wrought. As for themſelves they are very faithful, good natur'd, and Warriors like the reſt. *Shape.*

The 25th, the Elders being aſſembled, came to ſee us, and told the Sieur *Couture*, that they deſign'd to ſing and dance the *Calumet*, or Pipe; becauſe the others had ſung it, ſome of them to the late Monſieur *de la Sale*, and the reſt to Monſieur *Tonty*, and therefore it was but reaſonable they ſhould do the ſame to get a Firelock, *The Ceremony of the Pipe perform'd to M.* Cavelier.

July 1687 lock, as well as the others. Monſieur *Cavelier* was inform'd of it, and it was requiſite to conſent to it, to pleaſe thoſe *Indians*, becauſe we ſtood in need of them.

Ceremony of the Pipe. The Ceremony began with Monſieur *Cavelier*, who was led under the Arms and ſeated on a Hide, without the Cottage. The Forks, the Skins laid on it in Honour of the Pipe, the Singing as loud as they cou'd roar, both by Men and Women, and all the other Ceremonies were obſerv'd, as I have mention'd them before; ſo that Monſieur *Cavelier* being weary of them, he caus'd the Chief to be told, that he was out of Order, and deſir'd his Nephew might be put in his Place, which was done accordingly, and they ſpent the whole Night in Singing. In the Morning they perform'd ſome other Ceremonies, not worth relating.

The Solemnity being ended, by every Man's ſmoking of the Pipe, the *Indians* took it, with ſome Bullocks Hides, and Goats and Otters Skins, and a Collar made of Shells, all which they carry'd to our Houſe, and we gave them a Firelock, two Axes, ſix Knives, one hundred Charges of Powder, as much Ball, and ſome Strings of Beads for their Wives. The Chief having given Notice of our coming to the other Villages, their Deputies came to ſee us; we entertain'd them in the Houſe, and propos'd to them our Deſigns, as had been done to the Chief. They ſtood conſidering a While, then held a Sort of Conſultation among themſelves, which held not long without talking, and then agreed to grant us what we ask'd, which was a Canoe and a Man of each Village to conduct us, upon the promis'd Conſideration, and ſo they went

went away to the Cottage of the Chief of the Village. *July* 1687

The 27th, the Chief and the Elders met again to conſult about what we demanded of them; the Length of the Journey made them apprehenſive for thoſe, who were to conduct us; but, at Length, we having diſpell'd their Fears by our Arguments, and they having again deliberated ſome Time, agreed to our Requeſt. We again made them a Preſent, promiſing a good Reward to our Guides, and ſo we prepar'd to ſet forwards. Little *Bartholomew* the *Pariſian*, having intimated to us, that he would willingly ſtay in that Houſe, becauſe he was none of the ableſt of Body, we recommended him to the Sieur *Couture*. We deſir'd thoſe that remain'd there, to keep the Secret of Monſr. *de la Sale*'s Death, promis'd to ſend them Relief, leſt them our Horſes, which were of great Uſe to go a Hunting, and gave them fifteen or ſixteen Pounds of Powder, eight hundred Balls, three hundred Flints, twenty ſix Knives, and ten Axes, two or three Pounds Weight of Beads; Monſr. *Cavelier* left them Part of his Linen, hoping we ſhould ſoon be in a Place where we ſhould get more; and all of them having made their Peace with God, by Means of the Sacrament of Penance, we took Leave of them, excepting the Sieur *Couture*, who went to conduct us Part of the Way. *The Journey continued.*

We imbark'd on a Canoe belonging to one of the Chiefs, being at leaſt twenty Perſons, as well Women as Men, and arriv'd ſafe, without any Trouble, at a Village call'd *Toriman*, for we were going down the River. We propos'd it to theſe People, or rather demanded it Toriman *Village.*

July 1687 it of them to confirm what had been granted us by the others, and they referr'd giving us their Anſwer till the next Day; for they do Nothing without conſulting about it, and we having brought a Sack of *Indian* Wheat, from the *French* Mens Houſe, deſir'd the Chief to cauſe Women to pound it, for which we would give 'em Something. Immediately he made a Sign to his Officers to go call them, and they went as readily.

Officers. There were ſeven or eight of thoſe Officers always about him, ſtark naked and beſmear'd, ſome after one Faſhion, and others after another. Each of them had three or four Calabaſhes or Gourds, hanging at a Leather Girdle about their Waſtes, in which there were ſeveral Pebbles, and behind them hung a Horſe's Tail, so that when they ran, the Gourds made a ratling Noiſe, and the Tail being born up by the Wind, ſtood out at its full Length, ſo that Nothing could be ſeen more ridiculous; but it behooved us to take Heed of ſhewing the leaſt Smile.

The River Miſſiſipi *found at laſt.* The remaining Part of the Day was ſpent in going with the Sieur *Couture* to ſee the fatal River ſo much ſought after by us, called *Colbert*, when firſt diſcover'd, and *Miſſiſipi*, or, *Mechaſſipi* by the Natives that were near us. It is a very fine River and deep, the Breadth of it about a Quarter of a League, and the Stream very rapid. The Sieur *Couture* aſſur'd us, that it has two Branches or Channels, which parted from each other above us, and that we had paſs'd its other Branch, when we came to the firſt Village of the *Accancea's*, with which Nation we ſtill were.

The

The 28th, the Chief and the Elders being aſſembled, they granted our Requeſts. We were to part, in order to be entertain'd in ſeveral Places, where we took Notice of ſome particular Ceremonies, which we had not ſeen among the other Nations. One of them is, that they ſerve up their Meat in two or four large Diſhes, which are firſt ſet down before the two principal Gueſts, who are at one End, and when they have eaten a little, thoſe Diſhes are ſhov'd down lower and others are ſerved up in their Place, in the ſame Manner; ſo that the firſt Diſhes are ſerv'd at the upper End and thruſt down lower as others come in. *July* 1687

Particular Ceremonies.

He who treats, does not ſit down with the Company, nor does he eat, but performs the Part of a Steward, taking Care of the Dreſſing and of the Placing of the Meat ſerv'd up; and to the End he may appear the finer, he never fails to beſmear himſelf with Clay, or ſome red or black Colouring they make uſe of.

The 29th, we ſet out from that Village, and imbark'd on two Canoes to croſs the *Miſſiſipi*. The Chief and about a Score of young Folks bore us Company to the next Village call'd *Tonningua*, ſeated on the Bank of that River, where we were receiv'd in the Chief's Cottage, as we had been in the others. The Elders treated us in their Turns, and the Deſcriptions before given will ſerve for this Place, there being but little Difference between them and their Neighbours.

Tonningua *Village*

The 30th, we ſet out for *Cappa*, the laſt Village of the *Accancea's*, eight Leagues diſtant from the Place we had left. We were obliged to croſs the River *Miſſiſipi* ſeveral Times in this Way,

Cappa *Village.*

Aug. 1687 Way; becauſe it winds very much, and we had ſome foul Weather, which made it late before we could reach *Cappa*. A great Number of Youth came to meet us, ſome of them conducted us to the Chief's Cottage, and others took Care of our Baggage, which was reſtor'd to us very honeſtly. We found the Elders waiting for us; a great Fire was kindled to dry us, and the Cottage was lighted by ſeveral burning Reeds, which they make use of inſtead of Flambeaus; after which we were ſerv'd as in other Places.

The 31ſt, we receiv'd Viſits from the Elders. Their Diſcourſe ran upon the War they deſign'd to make, thinking to ingage us in it, and we return'd the ſame Anſwer as we had done to the others, that we would ſoon return with all Things we ſtood in Need of. We ask'd a Man of them, which was granted, and the Day ended in Feaſting.

Entertainment given by the Indians.

We would willingly have ſet out the First of *Auguſt*; but the Chief came and told us, it could not be, becauſe the Women had not pounded our Corn, which however was done; but they made uſe of that Pretence to oblige us to ſtay, and to have Leiſure to give us ſome Diverſion, after their Manner. Accordingly, about Ten in the Morning, the Warriors and Youth came together to Dance. They were dreſs'd after their beſt Manner, ſome of them wearing Plumes of ſeveral Colours, wherewith they adorn their Heads, others, inſtead of Feathers, had two Bullocks Horns, and were all beſmear'd with Clay, or Black and Red, ſo that they really look'd like a Company of Devils or Monſters, and in thoſe Figures they danc'd,

as

as I have deſcrib'd it, ſpeaking of the other Nations. *Aug.* 1687

The Second, we made ready to be going. The *Indian* given by the firſt Village for our Guide, would not go any farther. A Man, ſaid to be an Hermaphrodite, offer'd to ſupply his Place, ſaying, he was willing to go to the *Iſlinois*. We took Leave of the Sieur *Couture*, to whom Monſr. *Cavelier* made an Exhortation, encouraging him to perſevere and have Patience, in Hopes of the Relief we wou'd ſend him, and ſo we imbark'd on the *Miſſiſipi* in a Canoe, being Nine in Number, that is, five of us, and the four *Indians* that were our Guides. We were oblig'd to croſs that River very often, and no leſs frequently to carry our Canoe and Goods, as well on Account of the Rapidity of the River, and to find it ſlacker on the one or the other Side of it, which was very troubleſome to our Guides, as becauſe of the little iſlands we met with, which are form'd by the impetuous beating of the Water upon the Banks, that oppoſe its Courſe, where the Channels happen not to lie ſtrait; there it waſhes away the Earth and bears down great Trees, which in Proceſs of Time form little Iſlands, that divide the Channel. At Night we incamp'd in one of thoſe ſmall Iſlands, for our greater Safety, for we were then come into an Enemy's Nation, call'd *Machigamea*, which put our *Indians* into great Frights. Machigamea *Nation.*

It is certain our Toil was very great, for we were oblig'd to row in the Canoe, to help our *Indians* to ſtem the Current of the River, becauſe we were going up, and it was very ſtrong and rapid; we were often neceſſitated to

Aug. 1687 to land, and ſometimes to travel over miry Lands, where we ſunk up half way the Leg; other Times over burning Sands, which ſcorch'd our Feet, having no Shoes, or elſe over Splinters of Wood, which ran into the Soles of our Feet, and when we were come to the reſting Place, we were to provide Fuel to dreſs our Meat, and provide all Things for our *Indians*, who would not have done ſo much as go fetch a Cup of Water, tho' we were on the Bank of the River, and yet we were happy enough in having them.

We proceeded on, continually undergoing the ſame Toil, till the Seventh, when, we ſaw the firſt Bullock, we had met on our Way, ſince our coming among the *Accancea's*. The *Indians*, who had a great Mind to eat Fleſh, made a Sign to me, to go kill it. I purſu'd and Shot, but it did not fall, the *Indians* ran after, kill'd, and came to tell us it muſt be parch'd, or dry'd, which was accordingly done. I muſt here take Notice of a Ceremony our *Indians* perform'd, when they came near the Bullock, before they flead him.

Ceremony at dreſſing a Bullock.

In the firſt Place, they adorn'd his Head with ſome Swans and Buſtards Down, dy'd red, and put ſome Tabacco into his Noſtrils, and between the Clefts of the Hoofs. When they had flead him, they cut out the Tongue, and put a Bit of Tabacco into its Place; then they ſtuck two Wooden Forks into the Ground, laid a Stick acroſs them, on which they plac'd ſeveral Slices of the Fleſh, in the Nature of an Offering. The Ceremony being ended, we parch'd or dry'd the beſt Parts of the Beaſt and proceeded on our Journey.

The

The 9th, we found the Banks of the River very high, and the Earth of them Yellow, Red and White, and thither the Natives came to furniſh themſelves with it, to adorn their Bodies, on Feſtival Days. We held on our Way till the 14th, when we met a Herd of Bullocks, whereof we kill'd five, dry'd Part of them, and proceeded till the 18th. *Aug.* 1687 *Banks of ſeveral Colours.*

The 19th, we came to the Mouth of the River, call'd *Houabache*, ſaid to come from the Country of the *Iroquois*, towards *New England*. That is a very fine River, its Water extraordinary clear, and the Current of it, gentle. Our *Indians* offer'd up to it, by Way of Sacrifice, ſome Tabacco and Beef Steaks, which they fix'd on Forks, and left them on the Bank, to be diſpos'd of as the River thought fit. We obſerv'd ſome other Superſtitions among thoſe poor People, one whereof was as follows. Houabache *River.*

There were ſome certain Days, on which they Faſted, and we knew them, when aſſoon as they awak'd, they beſmear'd their Faces and Arms, or other Parts of their Bodies, with a ſlimy Sort of Earth, or pounded Charcoal; for that Day they did not eat till Ten or Eleven of the Clock at Night, and before they did eat they were to wipe off that Smearing, and had Water brought them for that Purpoſe. The Occaſion of their Faſting was, as they gave us to underſtand, that they might have good Succeſs in Hunting, and kill Abundance of Bullocks. *Indian Faſt.*

We held on our Way till the 25th, when the *Indians* ſhew'd us a Spring of Salt Water, within a Musket Shot of us, and made us go aſhore to view it. We obſerv'd the Ground about *Salt Water Spring.*

Aug. 1687 about it was much beaten by Bullocks Feet, and it is likely they love that Salt Water. The Country about, was full of Hillocks, cover'd *Wild Fruit.* with Oaks and Wallnut-Trees, Abundance of Plum-Trees, almoſt all the Plums red and pretty good, beſides great Store of other Sorts of Fruits, whoſe Names we know not, and among them one ſhap'd like a midling Pear, with Stones in it as big as large Beans. When ripe it peels like a Peach, the Taſte is indifferent good, but rather of the Sweeteſt.

The 27th, having diſcover'd a Herd of Beeves, we went aſhore to kill ſome; I ſhot a Heifer, which was very good Meat, we put a Board the beſt of it, and held on our Way till the Evening, when we encamp'd on an Iſland, where we obſerv'd an Alteration in the Humour and Behaviour of our *Indians*. This put us under ſome Apprehenſion, and the more, for that he who was reckon'd an Hermaphrodite, told us, they intended to leave us, which oblig'd us to ſecure our Arms and double our Watch during the Night, for Fear they ſhould forſake us.

With that Jealouſy we proceeded on our Journey the 28th and 29th, coaſting along the Foot of an upright Rock, about ſixty, or eighty Foot high, round which the River glides. Held on the 30th and 31ſt, and the firſt of *September* paſs'd by the Mouth of a River call'd *Miſſouris*, whoſe Water is always thick, and to which our *Indians* did not forget to offer Sacrifice.

Miſſouris *River.*

Figure of a pretended Monſter

The 2d, we arriv'd at the Place, where the Figure is of the pretended Monſter ſpoken of by Father *Marquet*. That Monſter conſiſts of two ſcurvy

ſcurvy Figures drawn in red, on the flat Side of a Rock, about ten or twelve Foot high, which wants very much of the extraordinary Height that Relation mentions. However our *Indians* paid Homage, by offering Sacrifice to that Stone; tho' we endeavour'd to give them to underſtand, that the ſaid Rock had no Manner of Virtue, and that we worſhip'd ſomething above it, pointing up to Heaven; but it was to no Purpoſe, and they made Signs to us, that they ſhould die if they did not perform that Duty. We proceeded, coaſting along a Chain of Mountains, and at length, on the 3d, left the *Miſſiſipi*, to enter the River of the *Iſlinois*. *Sept.* 1687

River of the Iſlinois

We found a great Alteration in that River, as well with Reſpect to its Courſe, which is very gentle, as to the Country about it, which is much more agreeable and beautiful than that about the great River, by Reaſon of the many fine Woods and Variety of Fruit its Banks are adorn'd with. It was a very great comfort to us, to find ſo much Eaſe in going up that River, by Reaſon of its gentle Stream, ſo that we all ſtay'd in the Canoe and made much more Way.

Thus we went on till the 8th, without ſtopping any longer than to kill a Bullock, and one of our *Indians*, who had a craving Stomach, having eaten ſome of its Suet hot and raw, was taken very ill, and died of it, as I ſhall mention in its Place.

Indian *dies of eating raw Suet.*

The 9th, we came into a Lake, about half a League over, which we croſs'd, and return'd into the Channel of the River, on the Banks whereof we found ſeveral Marks of the Natives having

Sept. 1687 having been incamp'd there, when they came to fiſh and dry what they caught. The 10th, we croſs'd another Lake, call'd *Primitehouy*, return'd to the River, and the 11th, ſaw *Indians* before us, incamp'd on the Bank of a River, whereupon we ſtop'd and made ready our Arms. In the mean Time, one of them came towards us by Land, and we put on our Canoe towards him.

Meeting with Iſlinois.

When that *Indian* was near, he ſtood gazing on us, without ſpeaking a Word, and then drawing ſtill nearer, we gave him to underſtand, that we were sent by Monſieur *de la Sale*, and came from him. Then he made Signs to us, to advance towards his People, whom, he went before to acquaint with what we had ſaid to him, ſo that when we were come near them they fired Several Shot to ſalute us, and we anſwer'd them with our Firelocks.

After that mutural Salutation, they came into our Canoe, to ſignify, they were glad to hear News of Monſieur *de la Sale*. We ask'd them, What Nation they were of; they anſwer'd, They were *Iſlinois*, of a Canton call'd *Caſcaſquia*. We enquir'd whether Monſieur *Tonty* was at Fort *Lewis*; they gave us to underſtand, that he was not, but that he was gone to the War againſt the *Iroquois*. They invited us Aſhore, to go with them to eat of ſuch as they had, we thank'd them, and they brought us ſome Gourds and Water Melons, in Exchange for which, we gave them some parch'd Fleſh.

We had not by the Way taken Notice of a Canoe, in which was a Man with two Women, who, being afraid of us, had hid themſelves

ſelves among the Reeds, but that man ſeeing us ſtop among his Countrymen, took Heart, came to us, and having told us, that he belong'd to a Village near Fort *Lewis*, we ſet out together, and one of our *Indians* went into that Canoe, to help them to ſhove, ſo they call the Way of puſhing on the Canoe with Poles inſtead of rowing. *Sept.* 1687

Fort Lewis *among the* Iſlinois.

On *Sunday*, the 14th of *September*, about two in the Afternoon, we came into the Neighbourhood of Fort *Lewis*. Drawing near, we were met by ſome *Indians* that were on the Bank, who having view'd us well, and underſtanding we came from Monſr. *de la Sale*, and that we belong'd to him, ran to the Fort to carry the News, and immediately we ſaw a *French* Man come out, with a Company of *Indians*, who fir'd a Volley of ſeveral Pieces, to ſalute us. Then the *French* Man drew near, and deſir'd us to come Aſhore, which we did, leaving only one in the Canoe, to take Care of our Baggage; for the *Iſlinois* are very ſharp at carrying off anything they can lay their Hands on, and conſequently, nothing near ſo honest as the Nations we had paſs'd thro'.

Arrival at Fort Lewis.

We all walk'd together towards the Fort, and found three *French* Men coming to meet us, and among them a Clerk, who had belong'd to the late Monſr. *de la Sale*. They immediately ask'd us, where Monſr. *de la Sale* was, we told them, he had brought us Part of the Way, and left us at a Place about forty Leagues beyond the *Cenis*, and that he was then in good Health. All that was true enough; for Monſr, *Cavelier* and I, who were the Perſons, that then ſpoke, were not preſent at Monſr. *de la Sale*'s Death; he

Sept. 1687 he was in good Health when he left us, and I have told the Reaſons we had for concealing his Death, till we came into *France*.

It is no leſs true, that Father *Anaſtaſius*, and he they call'd *Teiſier*, could have given a better Account, the one as an Eye Witneſs, and the other, as one of the Murderers, and they were both with us; but to avoid lying, they ſaid Nothing. We farther told them, we had Orders to go over into *France*, to give an Account of the Diſcoveries made by Monſieur *de la Sale*, and to procure the ſending of Succours.

At length, we enter'd the Fort, where we found and ſurpriz'd ſeveral Perſons who did not expect us. All the *French* were under Arms and made ſeveral Diſcharges to welcome us. Monſieur *de Belle Fontaine* Lieutenant to Monſr. *Tonty*, was at the Head of them and complimented us. Then we were conducted to the Chappel, where we return'd Thanks to God, from the Bottom of our Hearts, for having preſerv'd and conducted us in Safety; after which we had our Lodgings aſſigned us, Monſr. *Cavelier* and Father *Anaſtaſius* had one Chamber, and we were put into the Magazine, or Ware-houſe. All this While, the Natives came by Intervals, to fire their Pieces, to expreſs their Joy for our Return, and for the News we brought of Monſieur *de la Sale*, which refreſh'd our Sorrow for his Misfortune; perceiving that his Preſence would have ſettled all Things advantageouſly.

Reception.

The Day after our Arrival, one of the *Indians*, who had conducted us, having been ſick ever ſince he eat the raw Beef Suet, I mention'd before, died, and his Companions took away and

and bury'd him privately. We gave them the promis'd Reward, and the Part belonging to the Dead Man, to be deliver'd to his Relations. They ſtay'd ſome Time in the Fort, during the which, we took extraordinary Care of them, and at laſt they return'd to their own Homes. *Sept.* 1687

As far as we could gather by half Words dropp'd there by one or other at the Fort, Something had been done there prejudicial to the Service of Monſr. *de la Sale*, and againſt his Authority, and therefore ſome dreaded his Return, but more eſpecially a *Jeſuit* was in great Conſternation. He was ſick, Monſieur *Cavelier*, Father *Anaſtaſius* and I went to visit him. He enquired very particularly of all Points, and could not conceal his Trouble, which we would not ſeem to take Notice of.

Our Deſign being to make the beſt of our way to *Canada*, in Order to ſet out Aboard the firſt *French* Ships that ſhould Sail for *France*, we enquired how we were to proceed, and met with ſeveral Difficulties. The Navigation on that River was very Dangerous, by Reaſon of the Falls there are in it, which muſt be carefully avoided, unleſs a Man will run an inevitable Hazard of periſhing. There were few Perſons capable of managing that Affair, and the War with the *Iroquois* made all Men afraid. *Falls in the River.*

However the Sieur *Boiſrondet*, Clerk to the late Monſr. *de la Sale*, having told us he had a Canoe, in which he deſign'd to go down to *Canada*, we prepared to make uſe of that Opportunity. Care was taken to gather Proviſions

Sept. 1687 viſions for our Voyage, to get Furs to barter as we paſs'd by *Micilimaquinay*. The Viſits of two Chiefs of Nations, call'd *Caſcaſquia Peroueria* and *Cacahouanous* discover'd by the late Monſieur *de la Sale*, did not interrupt our Affairs, and all things being got ready, we took Leave of thoſe we left in the Fort. Monſieur *Cavelier* writ a Letter for Monſieur *Tonty*, which he left there to be delivered to him, and we repair'd to the Lake to imbark.

It would be needleſs to relate all the Troubles and Hardſhips we met with, in that Journey, it was painful and fruitleſs, for having gone to the Bank of the Lake, in very foul Weather, after waiting there five Days, for that foul Weather to ceaſe, and after we had imbark'd, notwithſtanding the Storm, we were oblig'd to put Aſhore again, to return to the Place where we had imbark'd, and there to dig a Hole in the Earth, to bury our Baggage and Proviſions, to ſave the Trouble of carrying them back to Fort *Lewis*, whither we return'd and arrived there the 7th of *October*; where they were ſurpriz'd to ſee us come back.

M. Cavelier, *&c. ſet out and returns again.*

Thus were we oblig'd to continue in that Fort all the reſt of *Autumn* and Part of the *Winter*, to our great Sorrow, and not ſo much for our own Diſappointment, as for being, by that Means, obſtructed from ſending of Succours, as ſoon as we had expected, as well to the ſaid Fort, as to thoſe *French* of our own Company, whom we had left on the Coaſt of the Bay of *Mexico*,

It

Oct. 1687

It was then the good Season for ſhooting. Thoſe Gentlemen at the Fort had ſecur'd two good *Indian* Sportſmen, who never let us want for Wild Fowl of all Sorts; beſides we had good Bread, and as good Fruit, and had there been any Thing to drink beſides Water, we had far'd well. The Leiſure we had during our Stay there, gave me an Opportunity of making the following Remarks, as well of my own Obſervation, as what I learn'd of the *French* reſiding there.

Deſcription of Fort Lewis *and the Country about it.*

Fort *Lewis* is in the Country of the *Iſlinois* and ſeated on a ſteep Rock, about two hundred Foot high, the River running at the Bottom of it. It is only fortified with Stakes and Paliſades, and ſome Houſes advancing to the Edge of the Rock. It has a very ſpacious Eſplanade, or Place of Arms. The Place is naturally ſtrong, and might be made ſo by Art, with little Expence. Several of the Natives live in it, in their Huts. I cannot give an Account of the Latitude it ſtands in, for Want of proper Inſtruments to take an Obſervation, but Nothing can be pleaſanter; and it may be truly affirm'd, that the Country of the *Iſlinois* enjoys all that can make it accompliſh'd, not only as to Ornament, but alſo for its plentiful Production of all Things requiſite for the Support of human Life.

Lime and Clay for Bricks, &c.

The Plain, which is water'd by the River, is beautified by two ſmall Hills, about half a League diſtant from the Fort, and thoſe Hills are cover'd with Groves of Oaks, Walnut-Trees and other Sorts I have named elſewhere. The Fields are full of Graſs, growing up very high. On the Sides of the Hills is found a gravelly

Oct. 1687 gravelly Sort of Stone, very fit to make Lime for Building. There are alſo many Clay Pits, fit for making of Earthen Ware, Bricks and Tiles, and along the River there are Coal Pits, the Coal whereof has been try'd and found very good.

Mines. There is no Reaſon to question, but that there are in this Country, Mines of all Sorts of Metals, and of the richeſt, the Climate being the ſame as that of *New Mexico*. We ſaw ſeveral Spots, where it appeared there were Iron Mines, and found ſome Pieces of it on the Bank of the River, which Nature had cleanſed. Travellers who have been at the upper Part of the *Miſſiſipi*, affirm that they have found Mines there, of very good Lead.

Product. That Country is one of the moſt temperate in the World, and conſequently whatſoever is ſow'd there, whether Herbs, Roots, *Indian* and even *European* Corn thrives very well, as has been try'd by the Sieur *Boiſrondet*, who ſow'd of all Sorts, and had a plentiful Crop, and we eat of the Bread, which was very good. And whereas we were aſſured, that there were Vines which run up, whoſe Grapes are very good and delicious, growing along the River, it is reaſonable to believe, that if thoſe Vines were tranſplanted and prun'd, there might be very good Wine made of them. There is alſo Plenty of wild Apple and Pear Trees, and of ſeveral other Sorts, which would afford excellent Fruit, were they grafted and tranſplanted.

All other Sorts of Fruit, as Plumbs, Peaches and others, wherewith the Country abounds, would become exquiſite, if the ſame Induſtry were

were us'd, and other Sorts of Fruit we have in *France* would thrive well, if they were carry'd over. The Earth produces a Sort of Hemp, whereof Cloth might be made and Cordage. *Oct.* 1687

Manners and Cuſtoms of the Illinois.

As for the Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Iſlinois*, in many Particulars they are the ſame as thoſe of the other Nations we have ſeen. They are naturally fierce and revengeful, and among them the Toil of Sowing, Planting, carrying of Burdens, and doing all other Things that belong to the Support of Life, appertains peculiarly to the Women. The Men have no other Buſineſs but going to the War and hunting, and the women muſt fetch the Game when they have kill'd it, which ſometimes they are to carry very far to their Dwellings, and there to parch, or dreſs it any other Way.

Women do all Labour.

When the Corn or other Grain is ſow'd, the Women ſecure it from the Birds till it comes up. Thoſe Birds are a sort of Starlings, like ours in *France*, but larger and fly in great Swarms,

Children.

The *Iſlinois* have but few Children, and are extremely fond of them; it is the Cuſtom among them, as well as others I have mentioned, never to chide, or beat them, but only to throw Water at them, by Way of Chaſtiſement.

Thieving.

The Nations we have ſpoken of before, are not at all, or very little, addicted to Thieving; but it is not ſo with the *Iſlinois*, and it behoves every Man to watch their Feet as well as their Hands, for they know how to turn any Thing out of the Way moſt dexterouſly. They are ſubject to the general Vice of all the other *Indians*, which is to boaſt very much of their Warlike

Boaſting.

Oct. 1687

Warlike Exploits, and that is the main Subject of their Diſcourſe, and they are very great Lyars.

Care of the Dead.

They pay a Reſpect to their Dead, as appears by their ſpecial Care of burying them, and even of putting into lofty Coffins the Bodies of ſuch as are conſiderable among them, as their Chiefs and others, which is alſo practiſed among the *Accancea's*, but they differ in this Particular, that the *Accancea's* weep and make their Complaints for ſome Days, whereas the *Chahouanous* and other People of the *Iſlinois* Nation do juſt the Contrary; for when any of them die, they wrap them up in Skins, and then put them into Coffins made of the Barks of Trees, then ſing and dance about them for twenty four Hours. Thoſe Dancers take Care to tie Calabaſhes, or Gourds about their Bodies, with ſome *Indian* Wheat in them, to rattle and make a Noiſe, and ſome of them have a Drum, made of a great Earthen Pot, on which they extend a wild Goat's Skin, and beat thereon with one Stick, like our Tabors.

Preſents to the Dead.

During that Rejoicing, they throw their Preſents on the Coffin, as Bracelets, Pendants, or Pieces of Earthen Ware, and Strings of Beads, encouraging the Singers to perform their Duty well. If any Friend happens to come thither at that Time, he immediately throws down his Preſent and falls a ſinging and dancing like the reſt. When that Ceremony is over, they bury the Body, with Part of the Preſents, making choice of ſuch as may be moſt proper for it. They alſo bury with it, ſome Store of *Indian* Wheat, with a Pot to boil it in, for fear the dead Perſon ſhould be hungry on his long Journey; and

and they repeat the ſame Ceremony at the Year's End. *Oct.* 1687

A good Number of Preſents ſtill remaining, they divide them into ſeveral Lots, and play at a Game, call'd of the Stick, to give them to the Winner. That Game is play'd, taking a ſhort Stick, very ſmooth and greas'd, that it may be the Harder to hold it faſt. One of the Elders throws that Stick as far as he can, the young Men run after it, ſnatch it from each other, and at laſt, he who remains poſſeſs'd of it, has the firſt Lot. The Stick is then thrown again, he who keeps it then has the ſecond Lot, and ſo on to the End. The Women, whose Husbands have been ſlain in War, often perform the ſame Ceremony, and treat the Singers and Dancers whom they have before invited. *Game of the Stick.*

The Marriages of the *Iſlinois* laſt no longer, than the Parties agree together; for they freely part after a Hunting Bout, each going which Way they pleaſe, without any Ceremony. However, the Men are jealous enough of their Wives, and when they catch them in a Fault, they generally cut of their Noses, and I ſaw one who had been ſo ſerv'd. *Marriages*

Nevertheleſs, Adultery is not reckon'd any great Crime among them, and there are Women who make no Secret of having had to do with *French* Men. Yet are they not ſufficiently addicted to that Vice to offer themſelves, and they never fall, unleſs they are ſued to, when, they are none of the moſt difficult in the World to be prevail'd on. The reſt I leave to thoſe who have liv'd longer there than I. *Adultery.*

We

Oct. 1687. We continu'd ſome Time in Fort *Lewis*, without receiving any News. Our Buſineſs was, after having heard Maſs, which we had the good Fortune to do every Day, to divert our ſelves the beſt we could. The *Indian* Women daily brought in ſomething freſh, we wanted not for Water Melons, Bread made of *Indian* Corn, bak'd in the Embers, and other ſuch Things, and we rewarded them with little Preſents in Return.

How the Travellers liv'd.

M. Tonty *comes to Fort* Lewis. On the 27th of *October*, of the ſame Year, Monſieur *Tonty* return'd from the War with the *Iroquois*. Our Embraces and the Relation of our Adventures were again repeated; but ſtill concealing from him, the Death of Monſieur *de la Sale*. He told us all the Particulars of that War, and ſaid, That the *Iroquois* having got Intelligence of the March of the *French* Forces and their Allies, had all come out of their Villages and laid themſelves in Ambuſh by the Way; but that having made a ſudden and general Diſcharge upon our Men, with their uſual Cries, yet without much Harm done, they had been repuls'd with Loſs, took their Flight, and by the Way burnt all their own Villages. That Monſieur *d' Hennonville*, chief Governor of *New France*, had caus'd the Army to march, to burn the reſt of their Villages, ſet Fire to their Country and Corn, but would not proceed any farther. That afterwards he had made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Canoes belonging to the *Engliſh*, moſt of them laden with Brandy, which had been plunder'd; that the *Engliſh* had been ſent Prisoners to *Montreal*, they being come to make ſome Attempt upon the *Iſlinois*.

War with the Iroquois.

We

We continued after this Manner, till the Month of *December*, when two Men arrived, from *Montreal*. They came to give Notice to Monſr. *Tonty*, that three Canoes, laden with Merchandize, Powder, Ball and other Things, were arriv'd at *Chicagon*, that there being two little Water in the River, and what there was being frozen, they could come down no lower; ſo that it being requiſite to ſend Men to fetch thoſe Things, Monſr. *Tonty* deſir'd the Chief of the *Chahouanous* to furniſh him with People. That Chief accordingly provided forty, as well Men as Women, who ſet out with ſome *French* Men. The Honeſty of the *Chahouanous* was the Reaſon of preferring them before the *Iſlinois*, who are naturally Knaves. *Dec.* 1687

That Ammunition and the Merchandize were ſoon brought, and very ſeaſonably, the Fort being then in Want. We ſtay'd there till the End of *February*, 1688, at which Time we fix'd our Reſolution to depart, tho' we had no News from *Canada*, as we expected. We found there were ſome Canoes ready to undertake that Voyage, and we laid hold of that Opportunity to convoy each other to the *Micilimaquinay*, where we hop'd to meet ſome News from *Canada*. *Feb.* 1688

Monſieur *Cavelier* the Prieſt, had taken Care, before the Death of M. *de la Sale*, his Brother, to get of him a Letter of Credit, to receive either a Sum of Money or Furs in the Country of the *Iſlinois*. He tender'd that Letter to M. *Tonty*, who believing M. *de la Sale* was ſtill alive, made no Difficulty of giving him to the Value of about 4000 Livres in Furs, Caſtors and Otter Skins, a Canoe and other Effects, for which, the ſaid *Mar.* 1688

Monſr.

Mar. 1688 Monſr. *Cavelier* gave him his Note, and we prepar'd for our Journey.

I have before obſerved, that there was a *Jeſuit*, whoſe name was *Dalouez* at Fort *Lewis*, and who had been very much ſurpriz'd to hear that Monſr. *de la Sale* was to come in a ſhort Time, being under great Apprehenſions on Account of a Conſpiracy intended to have been carry'd on, againſt Monſr. *de la Sale's* Intereſt. That Father perceiving our Departure was fix'd, mov'd firſt, and went away foremoſt, to return to *Micilimaquinay*; ſo that they were left without a Prieſt at Fort *Lewis*, which was a great Trouble to us, becauſe we were the Occaſion of it, and therefore thoſe, who were to remain in the Fort, anticipated the Time, and made their *Eaſter*, taking the Advantage of the Preſence of F. *Anaſtaſius* and M. *Cavelier*.

The Travel continued.

At length, we ſet out the 21th of *March*, from Fort *Lewis*. The Sieur *Boiſrondet*, who was deſirous to return to *France*, join'd us, we imbark'd on the River, which was then become navigable, and before we had advanc'd five Leagues, met with a rapid Stream, which oblig'd us to go Aſhore, and then again into the Water, to draw along our Canoe. I had the Misfortune to hurt one of my Feet againſt a Rock that lay under Water, which troubled me very much for a long Time; and we being under a Neceſſity of going often into the Water, I ſuffer'd extreamly, and more than I had done ſince our Departure from the Gulph of *Mexico*.

We arriv'd at *Chicagon* the 29th of *March*, and our firſt Care was to go ſeek what we had conceal'd at our former Voyage, having, as was there ſaid, bury'd our Luggage and Proviſions.

ſions. We found it had been open'd, and ſome Furs and Linen taken away, almoſt all which belong'd to me. This had been done by a *French* Man, whom M. *Tonty* had ſent from the Fort, during the Winter Seaſon, to know whether there were any Canoes at *Chicagon*, and whom he had directed to ſee whether any Body had medled with what we had conceal'd, and he made Uſe of that Advice to rob us. *Mar.* 1688

The bad Weather oblig'd us to ſtay in that Place, till *April*. That Time of Reſt was advantageous for the Healing my Foot; and there being but very little Game in that Place, we had Nothing but our Meal or *Indian* Wheat to feed on; yet we diſcover'd a Kind of *Manna*, which was a great Help to us. It was a Sort of Trees, reſembling our Maple, in which we made Inciſions, whence flow'd a ſweet Liquor, and in it we boil'd our *Indian* Wheat, which made it delicious, ſweet and of a very agreeable Reliſh. *Sweet Water from a Tree.*

There being no Sugar-Canes in that Country, thoſe Trees ſupply'd that Liquor, which being boil'd up and evaporated, turn'd into a Kind of Sugar ſomewhat browniſh, but very good. In the Woods we found a Sort of Garlick, not ſo ſtrong as ours, and ſmall Onions very like ours in Taſte, and ſome Charvel of the ſame Reliſh as that we have, but different in the Leaf.

The Weather being ſomewhat mended, we imbark'd again and enter'd upon the Lake on the 5th of *April*, keeping to the North Side to ſhun the *Iroquois*. We had ſome Storms alſo, and ſaw ſwelling Waves like thoſe of the Sea; but arriv'd ſafe the 15th at a River call'd *Quinetonan*, near a Village whence, the Inhabitants depart during the Winter Seaſon, to go a Hunting, and reſide there all the Summer. Quinetonan *River.*

The

Apr. 1688

The Sport is not there as in thoſe Countries from whence we came; but on the Contrary, very poor, and we found Nothing but ſome very lean Wild Goats, and even thoſe very rarely, becauſe the Wolves, which are very numerous there, make great Havock of them, taking and devouring great Numbers after this Manner.

How Wolves catch Goats

When the Wolves have diſcover'd a Herd of Wild Goats, they rouſe and ſet them a running. The Wild Goats never fail to take to the firſt Lake they meet with. The hunting Wolves, who are uſed to that, guard the Banks carefully, moving along the Edges of them. The poor Goats being pierc'd by the Cold of the Lake, grow weary and ſo get out, or elſe the River ſwelling forces them out with its Waves, quite benumm'd, ſo that they are eaſily taken by their Enemies, who devour them. We frequently ſaw those Wolves watching along the Side of the Lake, and kept off to avoid frightning them, to the End the Wild Goats might quit their Sanctuary, that we might catch ſome of them, as it ſometimes fell out.

Poutouatanni *Nation.*

The 28th, we arriv'd among the *Poutouatannis*, which is half Way to *Micilimaquinay*, where we purchas'd ſome *Indian* Corn for the reſt of our Voyage. We found no News there from *Montreal*, and were forc'd to ſtay ſome Time to wait an Opportunity to go down the River. No Man daring to venture, becauſe of the War with the *Iroquois*.

Hurons *and* Outahouacs *Nations.*

There are ſome *French* Men in that Place, and four *Jeſuits*, who have a Houſe well built with Timber, incloſed with Stakes and Paliſades. There are alſo some *Hurons* and

and *Outahouacs*, two Neighbouring Nations, whom thoſe Fathers take Care to inſtruct, not without very much Trouble, thoſe People being downright Libertines, and there are very often none but a few Women in their Churches. Thoſe Fathers have each of them the Charge of inſtructing a Nation, and to that Effect have tranſlated the proper Prayers into the Language peculiar to each of them, as alſo all other Things relating to the Catholick Faith and Religion. *May* 1688

They offer'd Father *Anaſtaſius* and Monſieur *Cavelier* a Room, which they accepted of, and we took up our Lodging in a little Hovel ſome Travellers had made. There we continued the reſt of *May* and Part of *June*, till after the Feaſt of *Whitſontide*. The Natives of the Country about, till the Land and ſow *Indian* Corn, Melons and Gourds, but they do not thrive ſo well as in the Country we came from. However they live on them, and beſides they have Fiſh they catch in the Lake, for Fleſh is very ſcarce among them. *June* 1688

On the 4th of *June*, there arriv'd four Canoes, commanded by Monſieur *de Porneuf*, coming from *Montreal*, and bringing News from the Marques *d' Hennonville*, and Orders to ſend to the Settlements which were towards the Lake *des Puans* and others higher up, towards the Source of the River *Colbert*, to know the Poſture and Condition of Affairs. We prepar'd to be gone with the two Canoes. Monſieur *Cavelier* bought another, to carry our Baggage, and left Part of his Furs with a Merchant, who gave him a Note to receive Money at *Montreal*. I did the ſame with thoſe few Furs I had, the reſt of them having been left at *Micilimaquinay*. We

July 1688 We took Leave of the *Jeſuits*, and ſet out in four Canoes, *viz.* two belonging to Monſieur *de Porneuf*, and two to Monſieur *Cavelier*, one of which had been brought from Fort *Lewis*, and the other bought, as I have just now ſaid, we being twenty nine of us in thoſe four Canoes. We row'd on till the 24th, when Monſieur *de Porneuf* left us to go St. *Mary*'s Fall, to carry the Orders given him. The 25th, we got out of the Lake of the *Iſlinois*, to enter that of the *Hurons*, on the Banks whereof ſtands the Village, call'd *Teſſalon*, where Monſieur *de Porneuf* came again to us, with a Canoe of the Natives, and with him we held on our Way.

Iſlinois *and* Hurons.

French *River.* We proceeded to *Chebonany* the 30th of *June*, and the 3d of *July*, enter'd the *French* River, where we were forc'd ſeveral Times to carry our Canoes to avoid the Falls and the rapid Streams, obſerving as we went a barren and dry Country, full of Rocks, on which there grew Cedars and Fir Trees, which take Root in the Clefts of thoſe Rocks.

Nipicingue *Lake.* The 5th, we enter'd upon the little Lake of *Nipicingue*, adjoining to a Nation of that Name. We got out of it again and enter'd upon the great River, where, after having paſs'd the great Fall, we arriv'd the 13th, at the Point of the Iſland of *Montreal.* We landed at a Village call'd *la Chine*, which had belong'd to the late Monſr. *de la Sale.* Monſr. *Cavelier* ſet out the 14th, for *Montreal*, where we came to him the 17th.

Arrival at Montreal.

At *Montreal* we found the Marques *d' Hennonville*, Monſieur *de Noroy* the Intendant and other

other Gentlemen, to whom we gave an Account of our long and painful Travels, with the Particulars of what we had ſeen, which they liſtned to with Satisfaction, but without mentioning Monſieur *de la Sale*'s Death. We told them the Occaſion of our going over into *France*, and they approv'd of it, being of Opinion with us, that we ought to haſten our Departure as much as poſſible. *Aug.* 1688

We made us ſome Cloaths, whereof we ſtood in Need. The Sieur *Teiſſier*, who came along with us, and was of the Reform'd Religion, knowing the Exerciſe of it was forbid in *France*, abjur'd it in the great Church of *Montreal*.

The 27th, we went aboard a Bark to go down the River to *Quebec*, where we arriv'd the 29th, Father *Anaſtaſius* carry'd us to the Monaſtery of the Fathers of his Order, ſeated half a League from the Town, on a little River, where we were moſt kindly receiv'd by the Father Guardian and the other Religious Men, who expreſs'd much Joy to ſee us, and we ſtill more for being in a Place of Safety, after ſo many Perils and Toils, for which we return'd our humble Thanks to Almighty God, our Protector. *Arrival at* Quebec.

We choſe rather to take up our Lodging there than in the Town, to avoid the Viſits and troubleſome Queſtions every one would be putting to us with much Importunity, which we muſt have been oblig'd to bear patiently. Monſieur *Cavelier* and his Nephew, whom we had left at *Montreal*, arriv'd ſome Days after us, and were lodg'd in the Seminary.

We

Aug. 1688

We ſtay'd in that Monaſtery till the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, when we imbark'd on a large Boat, eighteen Perſons of us, to go down the River of St. *Laurence*, a Board a Ship, that was taking in and fiſhing of Cod. We went a Board it the 30th of the ſame Month, and after hearing Maſs, made ready and ſail'd for our dear Country, arriv'd ſafe at *Rochelle* on *Saturday* the 9th of *October* 1688, whence, ſetting out by Land, the 15th, the ſame Providence, which had protected and conducted us, brought us without any Misfortune to *Roan*, the 7th of *October*, the ſame Year.

The End of the JOURNAL.

The Remainder of the LETTER, *written by him who revis'd this* JOURNAL, *the other Part whereof is at the Beginning of it, this being the* Sequel *to the ſaid* JOURNAL.

Note, *That theſe have writ of thoſe Parts, but none of this particular Voyage.*

THREE ſeveral Authors have given an Account of this Voyage; *Firſt*, Father *le Clerk*, upon the Relations he had from the Fathers *Zenobius* and *Anaſtaſius*, Recolets, as he was himſelf and both of them Eye-Witneſſes: *Secondly*, The Chevalier *Tonty*, who was alſo a Witneſs to a conſiderable Part of thoſe Adventures: And, *Laſtly*, Father *Hennepin*, a *Flemming*,

ming, of the ſame Order of the Recolets, has done it more largely, he ſeems to be well acquainted with the Country, and had a great Share in thoſe Diſcoveries; but the Truth of his Relations is much controverted. It was he who went to the Northward, and towards the Source of the *Miſſiſipi*, which he calls *Mechaſipi*, and who printed, at *Paris*, an Account of the Country about the River, giving it the Name of *Louiſiana*. He ought to have ſtopp'd there, and not to have gone, as he did, into *Holland*, to ſet forth another Edition, very much enlarg'd, and perhaps not ſo true, which he dedicated to *William* the Third, Prince of *Orange*, and afterwards King of *Great Britain*. An Action for a Religious Man no leſs ridiculous than extravagant, not to give it a worſe Name; for after many great and tedious Encomiums given that Proteſtant Prince, he exhorts and conjures him to turn his Thoughts towards thoſe vaſt Countries, as yet unknown, to conquer them and ſend Colonies thither, to make known to thoſe Savage Nations the true God and his Worſhip, and to preach the Goſpel. That good Religious Man, whom many have falſly thought, on Account of that Extravagancy, to have renounc'd his Religion, did not conſider what he ſaid, and conſequently has ſcandaliz'd the Catholicks, and furniſh'd the *Hugonots* with Matter of Laughter; for is it likely, that they being Enemies to the *Roman* Church, would employ Recolets to go preach up *Popery*, as they call it in *Canada?* Or would they introduce any other Religion than their own? Can Father *Hennepin* be excuſeable in this Point?

In

In fine it appears, by all that has been writ by thoſe ſeveral Perſons concerning that Enterprize, that the Murder committed on the Perſon of Monſieur *de la Sale* was the Occaſion of its miſcarrying; but that which obſtructed the making of ſome Proviſion in that Caſe was, the ſaid Murders being conceal'd for the Space of two Years, and that the *Spaniards* of *Mexico* having been inform'd of all the Affair, ſent Men, who carry'd off the weak Garriſon Monſieur *de la Sale* had left in the Fort built by him, near the Place of his Landing, before he penetrated into the Country, to find out the *Miſſiſipi*. They alſo entirely raz'd that Fort, ſo that Seven or Eight Years elaps'd, till Monſieur *de Hiberville*, a Gentleman of *Canada*, and a Perſon of Capacity and Courage, famous for his notable Exploits in *Hudſon*'s Bay and other Parts, reſolv'd to reaſſume and revive that Project. He came over into *France* upon that Deſign, and made an Armament about the Year 1698, ſet out and ſail'd to the Gulf of *Mexico*. Being an able Seaman, he ſearch'd along the Coaſt ſo narrowly, that he found the Mouth of that fatal *Miſſiſipi* and built a Fort on it, leaving Men there, with a good Quantity of Ammunition and Proviſions, and return'd to *France*, intending to go back with a Reinforcement, as he did, and having penetrated far into the Country, diſcover'd ſeveral Savage Nations, and join'd Friendſhip and Alliance with them, as alſo built another Fort, which he left well ſtor'd with Men and Neceſſaries, return'd into *France*; but attempting a third Voyage, he dy'd by the Way, and thus, for want of Relief and Sup-

M. de la Sale's *Fort taken by the* Spaniards.

M. de Hiberville's *Expedition for the* Miſſiſipi.

Support, that noble Enterprize miſcarry'd again.

But God has now provided for it, and it is the Concern of Heaven, for if *France* is intereſted on Account of the Temporal Advantages it expects, the Church is ſo in like Manner, for the Converſion of the *Indians* it hopes will follow. Accordingly, Providence has taken the Affair in Hand, having rais'd the Man, who is the fitteſt to revive and ſupport ſo important a Project. This is Monſieur *Crozat*, Secretary to the King, a Man of ſingular Worth, very Intelligent, Well-meaning, and prodigiouſly Rich, who without going out of his Cloſet, has been the Occaſion of many notable Voyages by Sea, and all of them ſucceſsful. To him, his Majeſty, by his Letters Patent, bearing Date the 14th of *Septemb.* 1712. has granted the ſole Power to trade and ſettle Colonies in the Countries deſcrib'd in this Journal, and which are known to us by the Name of *Louiſiana* and the River *Miſſiſipi*, from hence forward to be call'd the River of St. *Lewis*. The Grant is made to him for 15 Years, under ſeveral Conditions mention'd in the ſaid Letters Patent, which have been made publick.

M. Crozat *only to plant Colonies and Trade in* Louiſiana.

And whereas ſuch a Grant cannot ſubſiſt without Blacks, he is alſo allow'd to ſend a Ship to *Guinea* to purchaſe them. They may perhaps find there the famous Black *Aniaga*, Brother to a King of *Guinea*, whom Captain *Delbee* brought over into *France*, above Thirty Years ago. The King was pleas'd to have him Educated, Inſtructed and Baptiz'd, the *Dauphin* being his Godfather; then put him into his Troop of Muſquetiers, and afterwards made him

him a Captain in his own Regiment, where he ſerv'd Honourably. Being deſirous to ſee his own Country again, where he promis'd to promote the *French* Trade, and the ſettling of Miſſioners, his Majeſty loaded him with Preſents, and order'd a Ship to carry him back to *Guinea*; but as ſoon as he was there, he no longer remember'd he had been baptiz'd, and turn'd again as perfect a Black, as he had been before. A Friend of mine, who was an Officer aboard a Ship, and hapned to be on that Coaſt in the Year 1708, had two or three Interviews with that Black, who came aboard him. He was a great Man in that Country, for his Brother was King. He expreſs'd much Gratitude for the Kindneſs that had been ſhewn him in *France*, and was extraordinary Courteous, and made great Offers to thoſe aboard the Ship, and to all ſuch of the Nation as would go into *Guinea*.

A Black bred in France *turns to his Native Cuſtoms.*

This Navigation to *Louiſiana* will farther procure us a free Reſort to the two famous Ports of the Gulf of *Mexico*, *viz.* The *Havana* and *Veracruz*, where Strangers did not uſe to be admitted, and which we knew only by their Names and their Situation in our Maps.

The latter of thoſe Towns is the Port of *New Spain*, at the Bottom of the Bay or Gulf, in 18 Degrees of *North* Latitude, Seated in a Sandy Plain, encompaſs'd with Mountains; beyond which there are Woods and Meadows, well Stock'd with Cattle and wild Fowl. The Air is very Hot, and not Healthy, when any Winds blow, except the *North*, which riſes commonly once in Eight or Fifteen Days, and holds for the Space of Twenty Four Hours, blowing

Veracruz *in* New Spain.

blowing ſo hard, that there is no going aſhore from the Ships, and then the Cold is very piercing. When the Weather is clear there plainly appear, on the Road to *Mexico*, two Mountains riſing above the Clouds, and forty Leagues diſtant, all cover'd with Snow. The Streets of *Veracruz* are ſtreight as a Line; the Houſes are handſome and regular; the Fortifications next the Land inconſiderable, but the Front of the Town next the Sea forms a Semicircle, with a little Fort at each End. Directly before that Front, a Quarter of a League out at Sea, there ſtands, on a Spot of Ground, inacceſſible, by Reaſon of the Breaking of the Sea, a ſtrong Citadel, well built and furniſhed with all Neceſſaries, a good Garriſon and double Batteries of two hundred Pieces of braſs Cannon. Ships cannot anchor any where, but between that Citadel and the Town; beſides that, it requires ſeveral Precautions, because it is difficult coming to an Anchor.

Moſt of the Inhabitants are *Mulattoes*, that is of a tawny dark Colour, who live moſt upon Chocolate and Sweetmeats, extraordinary ſober, and eating little Fleſh. The Men are haughty, the Women keep retired above Stairs, not to be ſeen by Strangers, and ſeldom going abroad, and then in Coaches or Chairs, and thoſe who cannot reach to it, cover'd with fine ſilk Veils, which reach from the Crown of their Heads to their Feet, leaving only a ſmall Opening on the Right Side, for them to ſee their Way. In their own Apartments they wear nothing but a Smock and a ſilk Petticoat, with gold or ſilver Laces, without any Thing on their Heads, and

and their Hair platted with Ribbons, a gold Chain about their Neck, Bracelets of the ſame and Pendants of Emeralds in their Ears. They could well enough like the Behaviour and Company of the French, but that the jealous Temper of the Men obſtructs them. There being a Picture of *Philip* King of *Spain*, now reigning, aboard the Ship in which my Friend was, who gave me this Account, the People ſwarm'd aboard to ſee it, they were never ſatisfy'd with gazing at it, and there was a moſt magnificent Feſtival kept in the Town, on Account of the Birth of the Prince of *Aſturias*.

They underſtand Trade very well, but are ſloathful and averſe to Labour, fond of State and Eaſe. They wear great Strings of Beads about their Necks, their Houſes are full of Pictures and Images of Devotion, decently furniſh'd with Purceline and *China* Goods. The Churches are magnificently adorned with Plate.

All Strangers are forbid Trading there, yet ſome come by Stealth and deal Underhand, by Means of Preſents made to ſuch Persons as can favour them. If thoſe Mulattoes call themſelves white, it is only to honour themſelves and by Way of Diſtinction from their Slaves, who are all Blacks, and having got much Mony by their Labour, ranſome themſelves and ſometimes become conſiderable Merchants.

Mexico *City.*

The City of *Mexico*, Capital of the Country and the Reſidence of the Vice-roy, is about eighty Leagues diſtant from *Veracruz*, to the Weſtward, the Way to it very bad and ill furniſh'd with Proviſions. That Country would be better in ſome Parts, were it well cultivated

cultivated by the Inhabitants. They ſow but little of our Wheat, and are ſatisfied with *Indian* Corn and *Caſſabi* Root, whereof they make Cakes, as is practis'd in the Iſlands. Their Trees and Fruits are the ſame as in other hot Countries. About the Town of *Veracruz*, there are Buſhes of a Sort of Thorn, without Leaves, among which grows an extraordinary Plant; for tho' it has but a ſmall Stem, it ſhoots out Leaves of a Cabbage Green, as thick as a Man's Finger, which grow out, one at the End of another, in the Shape of a Racket, and the Plant itſelf is ſo call'd. From thoſe Leaves there grows out a Sort of red Figs, very juicy, with Seeds like thoſe of the Pomgranate; the Juice is of a Violet Colour, but unſavoury. There is a Sort of Flies that cleave to it and are ſo fond of the Taſte of the Fruit, that they burſt and drop down dead. They are carefully gather'd and dry'd, and are the Scarlet Dye, call'd Cochinilla, which is brought into *Europe*, and makes that beautiful Colour. The Birds and Beaſts are much the ſame as in other Countries of *America*. There is a Sort of Bird, all red, which for that Reaſon is call'd the *Cardinal*; this they often tame and teach to ſing like a *Canary* Bird. This is what I have been told concerning the Town of *Veracruz*.

As for the *Havana*, a Town and Port no leſs famous, in the Iſland of *Cuba*, belonging as well as the other to the Crown of *Spain*, it ſtands towards the Weſtern End, and on the North Side of that Iſland, almoſt under the Tropick of *Cancer*, and about four or five hundred Leagues on this Side of *Veracruz*. It is large and beauti- Havana.

ful

ful; the Port good, ſecur'd by two Forts on the two Sides, and Braſs Guns, from twenty four to thirty ſix Pounders, the Entrance ſo narrow, that only one Veſſel can go in at once. The Town is encompaſs'd by a good Wall, fortify'd with five Baſtions, furniſh'd with Cannon. The Streets are all as ſtrait as a Line, and level, the Houſes very handſome, but ill furnish'd. In the Midſt of it is a fine Square, the Buildings about all uniform. The Churches are magnificent, and enrich'd with Gold and Silver, Lamps, Candleſticks, and Ornaments for the Altars. There are ſome Lamps curiouſly wrought, which weigh two hundred Marks of Silver, each Mark being half a Pound. The Revenue of the Biſhoprick amounts to fifty thouſand Crowns, and he who enjoy'd it in the Year 1703, as I was inform'd by my Friend, who gave me this Account of what he had ſeen, was the greateſt Ornament of that City, for his Virtues and Charity, being ſatisfy'd with Neceſſaries, and ſpending all the reſt upon the Poor, and in repairing decay'd Churches. Tho' Strangers are prohibited to trade there, yet it is eaſier carried on than at *Veracruz*. The Inhabitants are more familiar; the Women have more Liberty, yet they do not go Abroad without their Veils to wrap and hide them. Many of them ſpeak *French*, and dreſs after the *French* Faſhion, and ſome of our Nation have ſettled themſelves there. When my Friend was there, a magnificent Feſtival was celebrated for fifteen Days ſucceſſively, in Honour of K. *Philip* the Fifth, and Monſieur *du Caſſe* being then there, with his Squadron, the City deſir'd him to join with them. To that Purpoſe, he set aſhore

aſhore five hundred Men, who perform'd the Martial Exerciſe in the great Square, which was much admir'd. The *Havana* is the Place, where the Galeons meet. Proviſions are dear there, eſpecially Bread; but the Wine is not, tho' it is good. Fiſh and Fleſh there, are unſavory. The Inhabitants are *Spaniards.*

We have thought fit to deſcribe thoſe two famous Ports of the Bay of *Mexico*, as well becauſe it has not been ſo exactly done before, as in Regard that the Settlement which is going to be made in *Louiſiana*, may have ſome Dependance on them; for the *Havana* lying in the Way, thoſe who perform the Voyage may have the Conveniency of taking in Refreſhments there, of putting in for Shelter in foul Weather, and of careening or refitting. As for the *Veracruz*, tho' farther out of the Way, the Correſpondence there may be advantagious for the Securing of the Colony of *Louiſiana.*

But how can that fail of ſucceeding, under the Conduct of Monſieur *Crozat*, who has the Charge of that Enterprize, and whom Providence ſeems to have in a Manner ingag'd to advance in Wealth and Honour, to the Amazement of the World, and yet free from Envy, from Jealouſy, and from any Sort of Complaints. There is therefore no Reaſon to preſage otherwiſe than well of the Event of this Affair; the Bleſſiings God has pour'd down upon all his former Undertakings, ſeem to be a Security for what is to follow. There is Reaſon to hope for ſtill greater Bleſſings on this Project of a Settlement in *Louiſiana*, as being equally advantagious to Religion and the State; for the propagating of the Knowledge and Service of God among

among an infinite Number of Savages, by Means of the Miſſioners, who are to be ſent to and maintain'd in thoſe vaſt Countries; the Planting of the Faith in that new World, only the Name whereof is known to us, and the Reducing of it to be a Chriſtian and a *French* Province, under the Dominion of our Auguſt Monarch, and to the eternal Memory of his Reign, will be the Conſequences and the Fruits of Monſieur *Crozat*'s Care and Expence, the Glory of his Enterprize, the Security of the large Fortune he has made in this Life, and what is rare among ſuch rich Men, the Earneſt of much better in the Next. Heaven grant our Hopes and Wiſhes may be anſwer'd.

I am, &c.

The Letters Patent granted by the King of France *to M.* Crozat.

LOUIS, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarre:* To all who ſhall ſee theſe preſent Letters, Greeting. The Care we have always had to procure the Welfare and Advantage of our Subjects having induced us, notwithſtanding the almoſt continual Wars which we have been obliged to ſupport from the Beginning of our Reign, to ſeek for all poſſible Opportunities of enlarging and extending the Trade of our American Colonies, *We did in the Year* 1683 *give our orders to*

to undertake a Diſcovery of the Countries and Lands which are ſituated in the Northern Part of America, between New France and New Mexico: *And the Sieur* de la Sale, *to whom we committed that Enterprize, having had Succeſs enough to confirm a Belief that a Communication might be ſettled* from New France to the Gulph of Mexico by Means of large Rivers; *This obliged us immediately after the Peace of* Ryſwick *to give Orders for the eſtabliſhing a Colony there, and maintaining a Garriſon which has kept and preſerved* the Poſſeſſion, we had taken *in the very Year* 1683 *of the Lands, Coaſts and Iſlands which are ſituated in the Gulph of Mexico, between Carolina on the Eaſt, and Old and New Mexico on the Weſt.* But a new War having broke out in Europe ſhortly after, there was no Poſſibility, till now, of reaping from that new Colony the Advantages that might have been expected from thence, becauſe the private Men, who are concerned in the Sea Trade, were all under Engagements with other Colonies, which they have been obliged to follow: And whereas upon the Information we have received concerning the Diſpoſition and Situation of the ſaid Countries known at preſent by the Name of the Province of *Louiſiana*, we are of Opinion that there may be eſtabliſhed therein a conſiderable Commerce, ſo much the more advantageous to our Kingdom in that there has hitherto been a Neceſſity of fetching from Foreigners the greateſt Part of the Commodities which may be brought from thence, and becauſe in Exchange thereof we need carry thither nothing but Commodities of the Growth and Manufacture of our own Kingdom; we have reſolved

ed

ed to grant the Commerce of the Country of *Louiſiana* to the *Sieur Authony Crozat* our Councellor, Secretary of the Houſhold, Crown and Revenue, to whom we entruſt the Execution of this Project. We are the more readily inclined hereunto, becauſe his Zeal and the ſingular Knowledge he has acquired in maritime Commerce, encourage us to hope for as good Succeſs as he has hitherto had in the divers and ſundry Enterprizes he has gone upon, and which have procured to our Kingdom great Quantities of Gold and Silver in ſuch Conjunctures as have rendred them very welcome to us.

FOR THESE REASONS being deſirous to ſhew our Favour to him, and to regulate the Conditions upon which we mean to grant him the ſaid Commerce, after having deliberated this Affair in our Council, Of our certain Knowledge, full Power and Royal Authority, We by theſe Preſents, ſigned by our Hand, have appointed and do appoint the ſaid *Sieur Crozat ſolely to carry on a Trade in all the Lands* poſſeſſed by Us, and bounded by New Mexico, and by the Lands of the Engliſh of Carolina, *all the Eſtabliſhment, Ports, Havens, Rivers, and principally the Port and Haven of the Iſle* Dauphine, *heretofore called* Maſſacre; *the River of* St. Lewis, *heretofore called* Miſſiſipi, *from the Edge of the Sea as far as the* Illinois; *together with the River of* St. Philip, *heretofore called the* Miſſourys, *and of* St. Jerome, *heretofore called* Ovabache, *with all the Countries, Territories, Lakes within Land, and the Rivers which fall directly or indirectly into that Part of the River of* St. Lewis.

THE

The ARTICLES.

I. Our Pleaſure is, that all the aforeſaid Lands, Countries Streams, Rivers and Iſlands be and remain compriſed under the Name of *The Government of* Louiſiana, *which ſhall be dependant upon the General Government of New France*, to which it is ſubordinate; and further, that all the Lands which we poſſeſs from the *Iſlinois* be united, ſo far as Occaſion requires, to the General Government of *New France*, and become Part thereof, reſerving however to Ourſelves the Liberty of enlarging as We ſhall think fit the Extent of the Government of the ſaid Country of *Louiſiana*.

II. We grant to the ſaid *Sieur Crozat* for Fifteen ſucceſſive Years, to be reckon'd from the Day of Inrolling theſe preſents, a Right and Power to tranſport all Sorts of Goods and Merchandize from *France* into the ſaid Country of *Louiſiana*, and to traffick thither as he ſhall think fit. We forbid all and every Perſon and Perſons, Company and Companies of what Quality or Condition ſoever, and under any Pretence whatever, to trade thither, under Penalty of Confiſcation of Goods, Ships, and other more ſevere Puniſhments, as Occaſion ſhall require; for this Purpoſe we order our Governours and other Officers commanding our Troops in the ſaid Country forcibly to abet, aid and aſſiſt the Directors and Agents of the ſaid *Sieur Crozat*.

III. We permit him to ſearch for, open and dig all Sorts of Mines, Veins and Minerals throughout the whole Extent of the ſaid Country of *Louiſiana*, and to tranſport the Profits thereof into any Port of *France* during the ſaid Fif-

Fifteen Years; and we grant in Perpetuity to him, his Heirs, and others claiming under him or them, the Property of, in and to the Mines, Veins and Minerals which he ſhall bring to bear, paying us, in Lieu of all Claim, the Fifth Part of the Gold and Silver which the ſaid *Sieur Crozat* ſhall cauſe to be tranſported to *France* at his own Charges into what Port he pleaſes, (of which Fifth we will run the Riſque of the Sea and of War,) and the Tenth Part of what Effects he ſhall draw from the other Mines, Veins and Minerals, which Tenth he ſhall transfer and convey to our Magazines in the ſaid Country of *Louiſiana*.

We likewiſe permit him to ſearch for precious Stones and Pearls, paying us the Fifth Part in the ſame Manner as is mention'd for the Gold and Silver.

We will that the ſaid *Sieur Crozat*, his Heirs, or thoſe claiming under him or them the perpetual Right, ſhall forfeit the Propriety of the ſaid Mines, Veins and Minerals, if they diſcontinue the Work during three Years, and that in ſuch Caſe the ſaid Mines, Veins and Minerals ſhall be fully reunited to our Domaine, by Virtue of this preſent Article, without the Formality of any Proceſs of Law, but only an Ordinance of Re-union from the Subdelegate of the Intendant of *New France*, who ſhall be in the ſaid Country, nor do we mean that the ſaid Penalty of Forfeiture in Default of working for three Years, be reputed a Comminatory Penalty.

IV. The ſaid *Sieur Crozat* may vend all ſuch Merchandize, Goods, Wares, Commodities, Arms, and Ammunition as he ſhall have cauſed

to

to be tranſported into the ſaid Country and Government of *Louiſiana*, as well to the *French*, as *Savages* who are or ſhall be there ſetled; nor ſhall any Perſon or Perſons under any Pretence whatſoever be capable of doing the like without his Leave expreſſed in Writing.

V. He may purchaſe in the ſaid Country, all Sorts of Furs, Skins, Leather, Wool, and other Commodities and Effects of the ſaid Country, and tranſport them to *France* during the ſaid Fifteen Years: And as our Intention is to favour, as much as we can, our Inhabitants of *New France*, and to hinder the Leſſening of their Trade, we forbid him Trafficking for Caſtor in the ſaid Country under any Pretence whatſoever; nor to Convey any from thence into our Kingdom or Foreign Countries.

VI. We Grant to the *Sieur Crozat*, his Heirs or thoſe claiming under him or them, the Property of, in and to all Settlements and Manufactories which he ſhall erect or ſet up in the ſaid Country for Silk, Indigo, Wooll, Leather, Mines, Veins and Minerals, as likewiſe the Property of, in and to the Lands which he ſhall cauſe to be Cultivated, with the Manſions, Mills, and Structures which he ſhall cauſe to be built thereon, taking Grants thereof from Us, which Grants he ſhall obtain upon the Verbal Proceſs and Opinion of our Governor and of the Subdelegate of the Intendant of *New France* in the ſaid Country, to be by him Reported unto Us.

We will that the ſaid *Sieur Crozat*, his Heirs, or thoſe claiming under him or them, ſhall keep in Repair the ſaid Settlements, Manufactures, Lands and Mills; and in Default thereof during the Space of three Years, he and they ſhall Forfeit

Forfeit the ſame, and the ſaid Settlements, Manufactories, Lands and Mills ſhall be Reunited to our Domaine fully and amply, and in the ſame Manner as is mentioned above in the Third Article concerning the Mines, Veins and Minerals.

VII. Our Edicts, Ordinances and Cuſtoms, and the Uſages of the Mayoralty and Shreevalty of *Paris*, ſhall be obſerved for Laws and Cuſtoms in the ſaid Country of *Louiſiana*.

VIII. The ſaid Sieur *Crozat* ſhall be oblig'd to ſend to the ſaid Country of *Louiſiana* Two Ships every Year, which he ſhall cauſe to ſet out in the proper Seaſon, in each of which Ships he ſhall cauſe to be imbark'd, without paying any Freight, 25 Tun of Victuals, Effects and neceſſary Ammunition, for the Maintenance of the Garriſon and Forts of the *Louiſiana*; and in Caſe we ſhould cauſe to be laden above the ſaid 25 Tun in each Ship, we conſent to pay the Freight to the ſaid Sieur *Crozat*, at the common Merchantile Rates.

He ſhall be oblig'd to convey our Officers of *Louiſiana* in the Ships which he ſhall ſend thither, and to furniſh them with Subſiſtance and a Captain's Table for 30 Sols per Day, which we will cauſe to be paid for each.

He ſhall likewiſe give Paſſage in the ſaid Ships, to the Soldiers, which we ſhall pleaſe to ſend to the ſaid Country; and we will cauſe the neceſſary Proviſions for their Subſiſtance to be furniſh'd to him, or will pay him for them at the ſame Price as is paid to the Purveyor-General of our Marine.

He ſhall be furthermore oblig'd to ſend on Board each Ship, which he ſhall cauſe to ſet out for

for the ſaid Country, Ten young Men or Women, at his own Election.

IX. We will cauſe to be deliver'd out of our Magazines to the ſaid Sieur *Crozat*, 10000 Weight of Gunpowder every Year, which he ſhall pay us for at the Price that it ſhall coſt us, and this for ſo long Time as the preſent Privilege ſhall laſt.

X. The Wares and Merchandize which the ſaid Sieur *Crozat* ſhall conſign to the ſaid Country of *Louiſiana* ſhall be exempt from all Duties of Exportation, laid or to be laid, on Condition, that his Directors, Deputies or Clerks, ſhall engage to give within the Space of a Year, to be reckon'd from the Date thereof, a Certificate of their Unlading in the ſaid Country of *Louiſiana*; under Penalty, in Caſe of Contravention, to pay the Quadruple of the Duties, reſerving to our ſelves the Power of giving him a longer Reſpite in ſuch Caſes and Occurrences as we ſhall think proper.

XI. And as for the Goods and Merchandize, which the Sieur *Crozat* ſhall cauſe to be brought from the ſaid Country of *Louiſiana*, and upon his Account, into the Ports of our Kingdom, and ſhall afterwards cauſe to be tranſported into Foreign Countries, they ſhall pay no Duties either of Importation or Exportation, and ſhall be depoſited in the Cuſtom-Houſe, Warehouſes of Ports where they ſhall arrive, until they be taken away; and when the Deputies and Clerks of the ſaid Sieur *Crozat* ſhall be minded to cauſe them to be tranſported in Foreign Countries, either by Sea or Land, they ſhall be oblig'd to give Security to bring within a certain Time, a Certificate from the laſt

laſt Office, containing what they Exported there, and another Certificate of their unlading in Foreign Countries.

XII. In Caſe the ſaid *Sieur Crozat* be obliged, for the furtherance of his Commerce to fetch from Foreign Countries ſome Goods and Merchandize of Foreign Manufacture, in order to TRANSPORT them into the ſaid Country of *Louiſiana*. He ſhall make Us Acquainted therewith, and lay before Us States thereof; upon which we, if we think fit, will Grant him our Particular Permiſſion with Exemptions from all Duties of Importation and Exportation, Provided the ſaid Goods and Merchandize be Depoſited afterwards in our Cuſtom-houſe Ware-houſes until they be Laden in the Ships of the ſaid *Sieur Crozat*, who ſhall be obliged to bring in one Year, to be reckoned from the Day of the Date hereof, a Certificate of their unlading in the ſaid Country of *Louiſiana*, under Penalty, in Caſe of Contravention, to pay quadruple the Duties: Reſerving to our ſelves, in like Manner, the Liberty of granting to the ſaid *Sieur Crozat*, a longer Reſpite, if it be neceſſary.

XIII. The Feluccaes, Canoes, and other Veſſels belonging to us, and which are in the ſaid Country of *Louiſiana*, ſhall ſerve for loading, unloading and tranſporting the Effects of the ſaid *Sieur Crozat*, who ſhall be bound to keep them in good Condition, and after the Expiration of the ſaid Fifteen Years ſhall reſtore them, or a like Number of equal Bulk and Goodneſs, to our Governor in the ſaid Country.

XIV. If for the Cultures and Plantations which the ſaid *Sieur Crozat* is minded to make he

he finds it proper to have Blacks in the ſaid Country of the *Louiſiana*, he may ſend a Ship every Year to trade for them directly upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*, taking Permiſſion from the *Guinea* Company ſo to do, he may ſell thoſe Blacks, to the Inhabitants of the Colony of *Louiſiana*; and we forbid all other Companies and Perſons whatſoever, under any Pretence whatſoever, to introduce Blacks or Traffick for them in the ſaid Country, nor ſhall the ſaid *Sieur Crozat* carry any Blacks elſe where.

XV. He ſhall not ſend any Ships into the ſaid Country of *Louiſiana* but directly from *France*, and he ſhall Cauſe the ſaid Ships to Return thither again; the whole under Pain of Confiſcation and Forfieture of the Preſent Priviledge.

XVI. THE ſaid *Sieur Crozat* ſhall be obliged, after the Expiration of the firſt nine Years of this Grant, to Pay the Officers and the Garriſon which ſhall be in the ſaid Country During the Six laſt Years of the Continuance of this Preſent Priviledge: The ſaid *Sieur Crozat* may in that Time propoſe and nominate the Officers, as Vacancies ſhall fall, and ſuch Officers, ſhall be Confirmed by us, if we approve of them.

Given at *FONTAINBLEAU* the Fourteenth Day of September in the Year of Grace 1712. And of Our Reign the 70th.

SIGNED *LOUIS*
By the KING
PHELIPEAUX, &c.

Regiſter'd at *PARIS* in the Parliament, the Four and Twentieth of September, 1712.

THE INDEX.

A.

Acancea's, Indian Nation, their Houſhold Stuff, Shape, *&c.* p. 155.
Accidents befallen the *Recolets* 72
Account given by an *Indian* 92
Adventure, a ſtrange one 61
Adultery among the *Iſlinois*, not much regarded 175
Amiable, Ship, caſt away 36
Alligator eaten 12
Alligators 64
Apalache Bay 19
Arrival at Fort *Lewis* 168
Art of *Indians* to kill Goats and wild Fowl 136
Aſſonis, *Indian* Nation 133

B.

Banks of a River of ſeveral Colours 163
Barbarity towards dead Bodies 100. Of Men towards Women and of Women 128
Barbier (the Sieur) marries 72
Battle fought by the *Cenis* 109
Beaujeu (M. *de*) Commander of the Man of War, forſakes M. *de la Sale* 44
Beds of the *Cenis* 109
Belle (*la*) Bark loſt 67. How and what was ſav'd of her 69
Black bred in *France* 188
Boaſting of the *Iſlinois* 173
Boat loſt 38, 55
Building, Manner of it among the *Cenis* 108
Bullocks found aſhore 23
Bullocks (River of) 54
Buskins of raw Hides inſtead of Shoes 83

C.

Cadodaquio River 142
Cahaynehora, *Indian* Nation 148
Calumet, or Pipe 146
Canoe portable 88
Canoes (River of) 96
Cappa Village 159
Care of the Dead among the *Iſlinois* 175
Carpenter loſt 52
Cavelier (Monſr.) with his Company, parts from the Murderers 131. Comes to a *French* Habitation 152
Cayman Iſland 11
Cenis River 103
Cenis, their Country deſcrib'd 104 They meet the *French* in ſolemn Manner 106. An Entertainment given by them 107 Their Moveables 109. Diſfigure themſelves 110. Their Manners, Religion, and Ceremonies 112. Battle fought by them 127

INDEX.

Ceremony of the *Calumet*, or Pipe 146, 155. Of rejoicing 129 At the Reception of the *French* 137. Other Ceremonies 159 Of dreſſing a Bullock 162
Children of the *Iſlinois* 173
Choumans, *Indians* 92
Climate of the Bay of St. *Lewis* 66
Controverſy about Privilege 77
Conſpiracy diſcover'd 50. Another to murder M. *de la Sale* 97
Copal Tree 103
Corrientes Cape 13
Country where they landed, Account of it 29. A fine one 50
Croſs by a River 151
Crozat (M. *de*) only to plant Colonies in *Louiſiana* 187
Cruel Trophies 128
Currents 17
Cuſtom of *Indian* Women 143

D.

Dangerous Fruit 64
Dead, *Indian* Ceremony to them 140. Care of them among the *Iſlinois* 174
Difference between the Commanders 4, 26, 44
Diſcontents occaſion'd by M. *Moranget* 97
Diſcoveries made 74
Doleful Entertainment 141
Ducking of Seamen 5
Duhaut returns from M. *de la Sale* 59. Endeavours to occaſion a Mutiny 73. Conſpires to murder M. *de la Sale* 98. Murders him 99. Uſurps the Command 102. Is kill'd by *Heins* 123
Dwelling of *French* 151

E.

Encounter with Natives 71
Entertainment of the *Indians* 134, 138, 160

F.

Falls of a River 169
Faſt of *Indians* 163
Fatigue of the Men 52
Figure of a pretended Monſter 164
Finiſterre Cape 4
Fiſh, Plenty of it taken 47
Fiſh at the Bay of St. *Lewis* 62
Flying Fiſh 5
Fort built 45. Another 49. The firſt abandon'd 51. The Poſture of the Second 51. All reſort to it 53
French Men, ſix kill'd by the *Indians* 59. Seven loſt and four deſert 74. Two kill'd 76. Three that had been loſt heard of 94. One among the *Indians* 107. Entertain'd by the Natives 115. Some turn'd Savage 117, 119. Six go to the Wars with the Natives 125 Some ſtay with the *Indians* 132 Only ſeven ſet out for *Canada ibid.* Carry'd on the Backs of *Indians* 137
French River 182

G.

Game of the Stick 175
Goats and Bullocks found aſhore 23
Gros (Monſr. *le*) dies, and others 54

H.

Habit of *Indians* 143
Havana 191
Hebahamo Indians 84
Hiberville's Expedition to the *Miſſiſipi* 186

INDEX.

Hiens kills *Dubaut* 123. Seizes the Effects and gives what he pleaſes to the reſt 131
Hiſpaniola Iſland 6
Holy Ghoſt Bay 19
Horſe purchas'd of the *Indians* 91. One ſold for an Ax 116
Houabache River 163
Houſe built after the *French* Manner 151. Deſcription of it 154
Hunter dies with Cold 58
Hurons Nation 180, 181, 182
Huts containing ſeveral Families 108

I.

Janiquo, *Indian* Nation 141
Indian Ceremony of the Dead 140
Indian dies of eating raw Suet 165
Indians come aboard 21. Preſented and ſent aſhore 22. Friendly Behaviour of ſome 34. Their Camp 35. Their Entertainment 36. Affront given them 41. Their Revenge 42. Come to the Fort 48. Kill ſix of the French 59. Some entertain'd by M. *de la Sale* 80 One clad like a *Spaniard* 105 Expect Preſents 148. Some met with Axes 148
Inhumanity 128
Inſtrument for Tillage among the *Cenis* 109
Intrenching with Trees 81
Joutel (Monſr.) the Perſon that writes this Journal 1. Believes they were at the Mouth of the *Miſſiſipi* and ſlip'd it 18. Commands a Company 30. Is ſav'd from being murder'd by a Friend 102. Sent to the *Cenis* for Proviſions 104. Meets a *French* Man among the *Indians* 117. Has an *Indian* Maid offer'd him for a Wife 118. He and others reſolve to part from the Murderers 120. Part from them 131. Proſecute the Journey 149. Comes to a *French* Habitation 152. Continues his Journey 157. Arrives at Fort *Lewis* 167. Sets out for *Canada*, and returns again 170
Iſlinois River 165
Iſlinois People met with 166 Their Manners and Cuſtoms, Women, Children, Thieving, Boaſting 173. Care of the Dead 174. Game of the Stick, Marriages, Adultery 175. More of them 182

K.

Ketch taken by the *Spaniards* 10
Kind *Indians* 152

L.

Landing, the firſt 18. The ſecond 24. The third 28
Lataniers, Palm Trees 14
Lewis (Fort) among the *Iſlinois* 167
Deſcription of it and Country 171
Lime, and Clay for Bricks 171
Living Creatures about the Bay of St. *Lewis* 62

M.

Machigamea River 161
Madera Iſland 4
Maligne River 60, 87
Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Iſlinois* 173
Marle (*Monſr. de*) drown'd 139 His Funeral 140
Marriages of the *Iſlinois* 175

Mea-

INDEX.

Meadows very fine 136
Memory of Men kill'd, bewail'd 127
Men ſent to diſcover by Land 31
Six kill'd by the Natives 19
Mexico City 190
Mines 172
Miſchief prevented 124
Miſſiſipi River, the Mouth of it paſs'd by 27
Found at laſt 158
Miſſouris River 164
Montreal, arrival there 182
Moranget (Monſr.) Nephew to Monſr. *de la Sale* 30. Wounded by the Natives 43. Gives an Account of what he ſaw among the *Indians*, he was ſent to 92 Diſcontents occaſion'd by him 97. Is murder'd 98
Moveables of the *Cenis* 109
Murders committed by ſome Villains 98
Murderers return to the Camp 101. Reſolve to return to the Fort of St. *Lewis* 120. Their Deſign 121. Change their Mind 122. Differ in Opinion 123

N.

Nahordikhe Indians 133
Nation, what is meant by it 114
Nations of *Indians* 90, 114, 140

O.

Officers attending an *Indian* Chief 158
Oris, and *Deſloges* (the Sieurs) kill'd by the Natives 42
Outahouaes Nation 180

P.

Perſons that went with M. *de la Sale* 2. Left in the Settlement when M. *de la Sale* departed 71. Thoſe that ſet out with him 96
Pines Iſland 11, 12
Plants at the Bay of St. *Lewis* 65
Port de Paix 10
Poutouatanni Nation 180
Preſents made by *Indians* 145
To the Dead 174
Product of the Country of the *Acanceas* 154. Of the Country about Fort *Lewis* 172
Proviſions hid, ſpoilt 96

Q.

Quinetonan River 181
Quebec, Arrival there 183

R.

Rats 87
Rattle Snake bites M. *le Gros* 47 67
Reception of *Indians* 145. At Fort *Lewis* 168
River, a fine one 32
Rochelle, Departure thence 2
Rochfort, Return thither 3

S.

Sabloniere River 57
Sagamite, Haſty Pudding 113
St. *Antony* Cape 13
St. *Lewis*'s Bay 57. Deſcription of the Country 62
Sale (M. *de la*) his Reputation 1 His Miſtake 20. Much wrong'd 44. Goes to diſcover up a River 45. Returns and ſets out again 46. Goes again to diſcover 57. Returns to the Fort 67. Sets out upon another Expedition 68. His Diſcoveries and Return 74. Reſolves upon a third Expedition 75. Well receiv'd by the Natives 89. Conſpiracy to murder him 97. Goes to ſeek his Men and is murder'd by *Duhaut* 99. His Character 100

Salt

INDEX.

Salt found in Pits 48
Salutation, an odd one 39
Samana Cape 7
Settlement, *vide* Fort
Ships that went with Monſr. *de la Sale* 2
Sombrero Iſland 7
Spaniards, Indians give an Account of them 92. Take Monſr. *de la Sale*'s Fort 186
Spaniſh Veſſel ſeen 46
Speeches made to the French 138
Spring of Salt Water 163

T.

Tabacco 113
Thieving of the *Iſlinois* 173
Tillage among the *Cenis* 109
Tonningua Village 159
Tonti (Monſr.) Miſtake in his Account of this Voyage 14 Comes to Fort *Lewis* 176
Torima Village 157
Tortuga Iſland 8
Tortoiſes 63
Trade Wind 5
Travel continu'd 178
Travellers, how they liv'd 176
Trees about St. *Lewis*'s Bay 64

V.

Variation 15
Venomous Creatures 63
Veracruz in new *Spain* 188
Village abandon'd by *Indians* 82 Inhabited 86. Another 89

W.

War with the *Iroquois* 176
Water from a Tree ſweet 179
Way from St. *Lewis*'s Bay to find the *Miſſiſipi* 78
Ways very bad 133
Wild Fowl plentiful 28, 29, 82, 144
Wild Fruit 164
Wild Swine 12
Wolves, how they catch Goats 180
Women ſow among the *Cenis* 82 Deſcription of them *Ib.* Do the Work at Home, their Behaviour and Habit 111. Cuſtom of ſome 143. Their Ornaments 143. Do all Labour among the *Iſlinois* 173
Woods very Thick 82

FINIS.

TEXTUAL NOTES.

In the following notes references are made to page and line of the Text; the line referred to being in every case the one upon which the first words of the quotation appear. After the words of the English text are placed those of the original French; then, if necessary, a correct translation; finally, in brackets, any explanations that may seem necessary.

The collation of the original is as follows:

JOURNAL HISTORIQUE DU DERNIER VOYAGE que feu M. de la Sale fit dans le Golfe de Mexique, pour trouver l'embouchure, & le cours de la Riviere de *Missicipi*, nommée à present la Riviere de Saint Loüis, qui traverse la LOUISANE.

Où l'on voit l'Histoire tragique de sa mort, & plusieurs choses curieuses du nouveau monde. Par Monsieur JOUTEL, l'un des Compagnons de ce Voyage, redigé & mis en ordre par Monsieur DE MICHEL.

A PARIS,

Chez ESTIENNE ROBINOT, Libraire, Quay & attenant la Porte des Grands Augustins, à l'Ange Gardien.

MDCCXIII.

Avec Approbation & Privilege du Roy.

LE LIBRAIRE AU LECTEUR [running headline: AVIS AU LECTEUR] pp. iii. to xxxi.

Approbation, p. xxxi.

Privilege du Roy, pp. xxxii. to xxxiv.

Fautes a Corriger avant que de lire, p. xxxiv.

Map, facing p. 1.

PREFACE *Du Sieur de Michel, qui a mis en ordre ce Journal*, pp. 1 to 10.

JOURNAL HISTORIQUE,

Du dernier Voyage que feu M. de la Sale a fait dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, pour la découverte de la Riviere de Missicipi, pp. 11 to 362.

Reste de la Lettre de celuy qui a revû a Journal, & qui en fait la suite, pp. 363 to 381.

TABLE De ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable en ce Journal, pp. 382 to 386.

THE *French* BOOKSELLER TO THE READER.

N. B.—None of the marginal notes of this Introduction are in the original, save the very last.

Page iv, line 5. "Snapsack." *French*, "paquet" [cf. p. 60, l. 25.]

P. v. l. 13. "There are Vines which want but little Improvement." *Fr.* "On y trouve de la vigne a qui il ne manque qu'un peu de culture;"—but a little cultivation.

l. 17. "Alligators, but . . . ." *Fr.* "crocodiles, prodigieux lizards d'eau; mais . ." —enormous water lizards [omitted].

l. 21. "hurt." *Fr.* "hurte"—strike.

P. vi. l. 16. "a Pot or Kettle." *Fr.* "chaudiere."

l. 20. "do not value Wealth." *Fr.* "ne faire cas d' aucune sorte de richesse;"—value no kind of wealth.

P. vii. l. 20. "the Mysteries of Christian Religion." *Fr.* "nos Mysteres"—our Mysteries.

P. viii. l. 16. "and we look upon those Savages as Men, who . . . ." *Fr.* "Et peut-on croire aussi qu'un Sauvage le soit [*scil.* un homme],

quand on le voit sans Loy, sans Roy, & ce qui est le plus déplorable, sans Dieu."—And can one deem a savage such [*i. e.* a man], when he is seen to be without law, without a king, and, most deplorable of all, without a God?

P. x. l. 8. "civiliz'd." *Fr.* "humanisez;"—humanized.

P. xi. l. 14. "O the depth of the Riches . . . . Ways past finding out!" [Though the translator habitually cuts across many phrases and clauses of the original, he here piously inserts the entire Scriptural quotation, which the French writer merely suggests by the words "*ô Altitudo.*"]

P. xi. l. 23. "This all Christians are oblig'd incessantly to pray for." *Fr.* "Tout Catholique l'en doit prier avec instance;"—For this every Catholic is in duty bound to pray urgently.

P. xiii. l. 12. "ascertain those Mistakes." *Fr.* "perfectionner ces ébauches."—Perfect those sketches [*i. e.* maps, etc.].

l. 19. "let us applaud their Actions when we read them, and let us commend their Relations."—*Fr.* "applaudissons à leurs entreprises en lisant & loüant leurs Relations"—let us applaud their undertakings by reading and praising their narratives.

P. xiv. l. 14. "such as are not us'd to read many Travels." *Fr.* "ceux qui n'ont pas la pratique des grands voyages."—Such as have not considerable experience in traveling.

P. xv. l. 5. "*Roan.*" *Fr.* "Roüen" [so throughout the book].

P. xvi. l. 4. "Wood-Men." *Fr.* "Coureurs de bois."

P. xvii. ll. 3 and 11. "well enough learn'd" "well enough vers'd." *Fr.* "assez lettré," "assez bien versé." [The translator of the phrase is, indeed,

"well enough," and is quoted here only because it suggests the remark that, later on, the French adverb *assez* is frequently rendered by such words as *indifferent, extraordinary.*]

P. xxi. l. 8. "sixty Leagues." *Fr.* "plus de six cens lieuës vers sa source"—more than six hundred leagues toward its source. [This is perhaps the most considerable of the translator's slips, though there are many minor errors in the transference of figures.]

P. 1. Title of unpaged preface. "Mitchel." *Fr.* "Michel."

P. 2, l. 2. "the remaining Part of the World." *Fr.* "les restes du nouveau Monde."—The rest of the New World. Of course, the "Advertisement, *to the British Gentry*," at the end of this Preface, is not in the original.

THE JOURNAL

P. 2, l. 9. "the one Brother, the other Nephew to . . . . ." *Fr.* "l'un frere & les autres neveux de . . . "—the one a brother of M. de La Salle, the others his nephews. [There were two nephews, both apparently named Cavelier,—the name of La Salle's family; although, except in this passage and one or two others, the elder nephew is called *M. Moranget.* Cf. p. 41, l. 11; p. 68, l. 11; and p. 131, l. 13.]

P. 3, l. 11. "thirty tuns of Ammunition, and some Commodities design'd for *Santo Domingo.*" *Fr.* "30 tonneaux de Munitions ou Marchandises, qui estoit fretée pour S. Domingue"—thirty casks of munitions or commodities, which were intended for Santo Domingo.

P. 4, l. 20. "eight or ten Days." *Fr.* "sept ou huit jours"—seven or eight days.

P. 5, l. 4. "laid the foundation of . . . . " *Fr.* "furent les secrettes semences, qui . . . "—were the hidden seeds, which . . . [The original figure is much more appropriate than that substituted by the translator.]

P. 5, l. 25. "44 Minutes." *Fr.* "45 minutes."

P. 6, l. 16. [The parenthesis in italics is not in the original.]

P. 6, l. 34. "Dainmaville, the Priest, ... " *Fr.* "Dainmaville Prestre Missionaire . . " —the missionary priest.

P. 7, l. 2. "The 21st, ... " *Fr.* "Le 12"—the twelfth.

P. 7, l. 19. "above five Persons sick . . . . ." *Fr.* "plus de 50 malades . . . "—more than fifty sick people.

l. 21. "the Surgeon." *Fr.* "les chirurgiens"—the surgeons.

l. 22. "the first Port." *Fr.* "premier Port François"—first French port.

P. 8, l. 6. "the 26th of the said Month." *Fr.* "le 16 du dit mois." [Here the translator rightly corrects the original.]

P. 9, l. 13. "Aboard the Ships." *Fr.* "dans le vaisseau"—on the ship.

P. 9, l. 17. "the pretended Reform'd Religion." *Fr.* "la Religion P. R." [Where did the translator get the key to those letters?]

P. 11, l. 4. "Zenobrius." *Fr.* "Zenobe"—Zenobius.

l. 13. *Fr.* "au matin"—in the morning [omitted].

P. 13, l. 14. "being the 13th" [correcting the *Fr.*, which reads "12"—the 12th].

P. 15, l. 26. "it grew very cloudy." *Fr.* "il s'éleva un gros nuage au nord"—there arose a great cloud to the northward.

P. 16, l. 24. "26 Degrees." *Fr.* "le 28^{e} degré" —the 28th degree.

P. 18, l. 2. "and the foremost." *Fr.* "& qui estoient devant nous,"—and who were ahead of us.

P. 20, l. 23. "25 Degrees." *Fr.* "28^{e} degré"—the 28th degree.

P. 21, l. 10. "our Boats." *Fr.* "nôtre chaloupe" —our boat.

P. 23, l. 16. "in fourteen Foot Water." *Fr.* "à quatre piez d'eau:"—in four feet of water.

P. 24, l. 10. "tendred" [misprint for tended.]

P. 25, l. 21. "as soon as soon" [*sic*].

l. 35. "Part of the Men were put into a Boat." *Fr.* "une partie s'embarqua"—a party embarked.

P. 26, l. 31. "same same" [*sic*].

P. 28, l. 24. "Rivulets." *Fr.* "marres"—ponds [cf. next note.]

P. 29, l. 33. "Sloughs." *Fr.* "marres" [correct, but see preceding note].

P. 31, l. 34. "little Boat." *Fr.* "canot" [explained in a marginal note as follows: "Canot, *est un petit batteau fait de bois, ou d'écorces, ou de peau*" —Canoe, *is a little boat made of wood, or bark, or hide.*]

P. 36, l. 3. Commander in Chief." *Fr.* "Chef."

l. 7. "deform'd." *Fr.* "laides"—ugly.

P. 38, l. 22. "several Sentinels." *Fr.* "quatre sentinelles"—four sentinels.

P. 39, l. 15. Village next the Fire." *Fr.* "village prochain du lieu"—near the place.

P. 41, l. 11. "Messieurs *Moranget*, his Nephew, *Desloges*," etc. *Fr.* "Messieurs Moranget son neveu, Desloges," etc. [Cf. note to p. 2, l. 9.]

P. 43, l. 13. "together with the Concern, most of the best Persons who had followed *M. de la Sale*

were under." *Fr.* "jointes au dégoût que la perte de nôtre navire avoit causé parmi la pluspart des honnestes gens qui avoient suivi M. de la Sale," —together with the anxiety which the loss of our ship had occasioned among most of the people of respectability who had followed M. de La Salle.

P. 46, l. 3. "two or three." *Fr.* "trois ou quatre" —three or four.

l. 13. "design'd to erect a Fort farther up the River." *Fr.* "vouloit faire un Fort plus avant dans le pays;"—designed to establish a fortified post farther inland.

P. 47, l. 2. "Men in that Vessel, who . . . . ." *Fr.* "vaisseau, qui,"—ship, which . . .

l. 20. "Marsh." [here there should be a semicolon, as in the *Fr.*]

P. 48, l. 2. [The following sentence is awkward enough, but it gives the sense intelligibly.]

P. 54, l. 5. Le Belle [misprint for La Belle].

P. 55, l. 1. "These Bullocks . . . curl'd Sort of Wool." [In the original this sentence has the form of a marginal note.]

P. 58, l. 12. "a Girl & a Woman, who was shot thro' the Thigh, of which she dy'd." *Fr.* "une fille, une femme blessée à la cuisse d' un coup de fusil, dont elle mourut."—a girl, a woman wounded in the thigh by a gun-shot, who died of the wound. [It is doubtful whether the *girl* and the *woman* were not one and the same person.]

P. 59, last line. "but exerting himself against his Misfortunes." *Fr.* "il seroit dit contre ses malheurs," [The original is here simply meaningless. The sense intended is probably that expressed by the translation.]

P. 60, l. 25. "Snapsack." *Fr.* "paquet." [Cf. p. iv. l. 5.]

P. 62, l. 11. "To the Northward, was the River running along by a little Hill." *Fr.* "On voyoit du côté du midy, & vers l' Orient, la Baye, & les campagnes qui la bordent, de l' Orient au Septentrion, la Riviere se presentoit le long d' un petit costan,"—To the southward and eastward stretched the Bay and the fields which border it, from the east to the north, the river appeared along a gentle slope,—[The phrase, "from the east to the north" squints both ways; the reader must determine the meaning. Perhaps, in the editor's translation, the comma after the words "border it" should be removed, so as to make the phrase "from the east to the north" qualify the verb "border." Although the editor's studies have not qualified him to express an authoritative opinion upon this point of historical geography, he hazards the guess that this river is one of those flowing into Galveston Bay.]

P. 66, l. 8. "Colours, whereof many . . . . ." [The ascription of an agreeable odor to the colors is found in the original. Perhaps the *Fr.* "couleurs" is a misprint for "fleurs."]

P. 67, l. 20. "as I & my Men did, ..." *Fr.* "& Duhaut ayant dit ses raisons, & moy les miennes, . . . "—and Duhaut having given his reasons, and I mine, . . .

P. 68, l. 16. "Nails." *Fr.* "alesnes"—awls.

P. 68, (foot) "little Monsieur *Cavelier*, ..." [Cf. p. 2, l. 9.]

P. 71, l. 8. "Pedreroes." *Fr.* "pierriers"—swivel-guns.

P. 78, l. 9. "*l' Arcleveque*" [misprint for "*l' Archevêque*," the name of one of the men.]

l. 11. (end of sentence) "&c." [not in original.]

P. 81, l. 30. "curious Meadows." *Fr.* "belles prairies" [an interesting use of the word *curious*, for *fine* or *beautiful.*]

l. 31. "Woods of tall Trees." *Fr.* "belles fûtayes."

l. 34. "curious shady Groves." *Fr.* "beaux ombrages." [Cf. the two notes immediately preceding.]

P. 82, l. 10. "the same Sort of Pasture Grounds." *Fr.* "les mêmes païsages" [in l. 2 the same word is correctly translated "Landskip"].

l. 24. "Dome or round Top." *Fr.* "dôme."

P. 85, l. 18. "16th" [should be 26th. as in *Fr.*].

l. 29. "next Day being the 28th." *Fr.* "le lendemain 27." [The original appears to be wrong, and the correction extends to the three following dates.]

P. 87, l. 8. "Knots." *Fr.* "bretelles"—carriers' or porters' knots.

P. 89, l. 1. "fine curious Country." *Fr.* "fort beau païsage."

l. 3. ["pleasant" also stands for "beau." Cf. p. 81, ll. 30 to 34.]

P. 90.

Kiahoba,	*Fr.*	*Kiaboha*
Choumenes,	"	*Chaumenés*
Arhan,	"	*Arhau*
Enepiahe,	"	*Enepiahœ*
Ahonerhopiheim,	"	*Ahouerhopiheim*
Korenkake,	"	*Koienkahé*
Korkone,	"	*Konkone*
Maghai,	"	*Meghai*
Thecamenes,	"	*Tecamenes*
Kavagan,	"	*Kavayan*
Kannehonan,	"	*Kannehoüan*
Tohaka,	"	*Tohaha*
Chanzes,	"	*Chancres*

Orcampion, *Fr. Orcampiou*
Ayona, " *Ayano*
Canohatino, " *Canohatinno*

[The curious may compare the notes to p. 107, l. 34, and to pp. 114, 115.]

P. 91, l. 16. "curious Plain." *Fr.* "belle campagne." [Cf. p. 81, ll. 30 to 34, and p. 89, l. 1.]

P. 93, l. 6. "forty ancient Indians." *Fr.* "quarante anciens Sauvages"—forty old Indians. [Later the translator uses the proper word, "Elders."]

P. 94, l. 13. *Fr.* "& à faire de la chaux;"—and to make lime [omitted].

P. 97, l. 13. "Male." *Fr.* "Marle" [proper name].
l. 31. "Heins." *Fr.* "Hiens" [proper name].

P. 100, l. 15. "at a Time when he might entertain the greatest Hopes, as the Reward of his Labours." *Fr.* "dans le temps qu'il y avait tout à esperer de ses grands travaux"—at a time when there was the greatest hope of the success of his enterprise.

P. 102, l. 14. "Dehaut" [misprint for "Duhaut"].

P. 103, l. 8. "drown'n" [misprint for "drown'd"].
l. 30. "Lime Trees." *Fr.* "Tilleul"—linden.

P. 104, l. 8. "the Tessieers." *Fr.* "Teissiers" [proper name].

P. 106, l. 27. "in their Formalities, which consisted in . . ." *Fr.* "& les anciens, qui venoient en ceremonie audevant de nous avec tous leurs ajustemens, qui consistoient en . . "—and the elders, who came in ceremony to meet us in all their trappings, which consisted in . . .

P. 107, l. 1. "only their Bows & Arrows." *Fr.* "d'autre leurs arcs & deux fléches seulement,"—

others their bows & two arrows only [d'autre" is a misprint for "d'autres"].

l. 17 (end of paragraph). *Fr.* "Il nous fit bien des caresses, il estoit tout nud, comme eux, & ce qui est surprenant, il avoit presque oublié son langage naturel."—He gave us many caresses: he was, like them, quite naked; and, what is remarkable, he had almost forgotten his native tongue. [All this is omitted in the translation.]

l. 32. "discouse." *Fr.* "dessein"—design.

l. 34. "*Cannokantimo.*" *Fr.* "*Cannohantimo.*" [Cf. note to p. 90, last name in list.]

P. 108, l. 13. stragling up and down, . . . *Fr.* "par halneaux." Probably a misprint for "hameaux,"—hamlets.

l. 15. "At other Distances." *Fr.* "d'espace en espace"—at intervals.

P. 109, l. 2. "from the Dome"—form the dome [misprint].

l. 3. "lash"—lath [misprint].

l. 12. "Sagamise." *Fr.* "sagamité." [Everywhere else translated "Sagamite."]

l. 18. "well cur'd, which serve them for Feather Beds, or Quilts and Blankets." *Fr.* "passées avec le poil, qui servent de matelats & de couvertures,"—cured with the hair on, to serve as matresses and bedclothes.

P. 111, l. 1. "all the Work." *Fr.* "presque tout le travail"—almost all the work.

P. 114, l. 17. "a whole Province, or vast Extent of Land. *Fr.* "une Province entiere"—a whole province.

l. 20. "of twenty or thirty Leagues." *Fr.* "de quinze, de vingt, ou de trente lieües"—of fifteen, of twenty, or of thirty leagues.

PP. 114, 115. *Takensa*, *Fr.* *Tahenssa*
Enepiahe, " *Enepiahæ*
Ahonerhopiheim, " *Ahouerhopiheim*
Ahekouen, " *Ahehoüen*
Meghty, " *Meghey*
Kouayon, " *Koüayan*
Cagabegux, " *Coyabegux*
Pickar, " *Pichar*
Tokau, " *Tohau*
Peihoun, " *Peihoum*

[Cf. the long list of similar errors in the note to p. 90. In the transference of these singular names, the translator has industriously asserted the rights of the creative imagination.]

P. 116, l. 4. "a very fine Stone Horse." *Fr.* "un cheval entier et fort beau"—a very handsome *entire* horse.

l. 12. "near the River." *Fr.* "au-delà de la Riviere,"—beyond the river.

P. 117, l. 22. "*Buter*." *Fr.* "*Ruter*" [proper name].

P. 118, l. 8. "N. W." *Fr.* "Nord'oüest." [Correctly rendered, but cf. p. 119, l. 22, where the direction is given as "N. E."; in original, "Nord'est."

P. 118, l. 23. "*Buter*, the French Man." *Fr.* "Ruter s'en retourna"—Ruter returned.

P. 119, l. 22. "N. E." *Fr.* "Nord'est." [Cf. note to p. 118, l. 8.]

P. 122, l. 14. "*Hautot*." [*Fr.* the same, but probably a misprint for "Liotot."

P. 123, l. 1. "River that was near." *Fr.* "vers la Riviere"—toward the river. [Words are thus frequently inserted by the translator.]

l. 9. "He inform'd Duhaut." *Fr.* "Il apprit de Duhaut—he learned from Duhaut. [Here

the original seems wrong and the translation right.]

P. 125, l. 21. "which Way he would move." *Fr.* "que nous verrions de quel côté nous pourrions tirer,"—that we might see what direction we could take [*i. e.*, take information as to their future line of march].

P. 126, l. 33. "produce." [There should be a comma after this word.]

P. 127, l. 3. "and they set up their Throats, singing Several Songs as loud as they were able." *Fr.* "qui se mirent à chanter à pleine gorge des chansons differentes,"—who began loudly to sing various songs.

P. 130, l. 24. "begn" [misprint for *began*].

P. 131, l. 10. "Resolution." [After this word there should be only a comma. In *Fr.* there is a colon.]

P. 131, l. 13. Messieurs *Cavelier*, the Uncle and the Nephew, thirty Axes." [In the *Fr.*, after "Neveu," are the words, "& pour moy"—and for me. This nephew is the one generally referred to as M. *Moranget.* Cf. pp. 2 and 68, and the notes.]

P. 133, l. 16. "*Nahordikhe.*" *Fr.* "*Nahoudikhe.*" [Cf. pp. 90 and 114, and the notes.]

P. 134, l. 21. "Reception." [After this word there should be a period.]

l. 35. "*Cavelier* and the Priests." *Fr.* "de Monsieur Cavelier Prêtre."—of M. Cavelier the priest.

P. 139, l. 1. "Need of." [Here there should be only a comma, as in the *Fr.*]

l. 5. "It is to be observ'd . . . than with us." [In the *Fr.* this sentence is in the form of a marginal note.]

P. 140, l. 31. "*Nathosos.*" *Fr.* "*Natsohos.*" [Cf. pp. 90 and 114, and the notes.

l. 35. "Way." [After this word there should be a comma.]

P. 144, l. 2. "*Cohainihoua.*" *Fr.* "*Cahainihoüa.*" [Cf. pp. 90 and 114, and the notes. In a marginal note in the *Fr.*, this tribe is called *Cahaynaho.*]

P. 145, l. 9. "caressing us after an extraordinary Manner." *Fr.* "Il nous fit bien des caresses" —many caresses.

P. 146, l. 6. "Calumet, so they call a very long Sort of Tabacco Pipe." *Fr.* "Calumet garny de differens plumages:"—calumet ornamented with various feathers. [In a marginal note: "*C'est une Pipe à Tabac, qui a la queuë fort longue.*— This is a tobacco-pipe with a very long stem.]

P. 146, l. 16. "on his Feet." *Fr.* "sous les piez;" —under his feet.

P. 154, l. 12. "impatiently expected." *Fr.* "aspiroient grandement"—longed ardently for.

l. 21. "rounded away at the Corners." [After this in *Fr.* come the words, "sa couverture est d'écorce;"—its roof is of bark.]

l. 25. "deer." *Fr.* "cerfs, biches,"—stags, hinds.

P. 155, l. 17. "However, some of them have more Conveniencies, but the Generality has not." *Fr.* "Quelques uns cependant sont plus proprement; mais generalement, non."—Some, nevertheless, are more cleanly, but generally, they are not.

P. 157, l. 35. "going down the River." [After these words the following sentence is omitted: "Nous fûmes bien reçus en la Cabane du Chef, & traitez comme chez les autres."—We were well received

in the Chief's wigwam, and were treated as we had been when among the others.]

P. 158, l. 2. "referr'd" [misprint for "deferr'd"].

P. 160, l. 9. "several burning Reeds." *Fr.* "des cannes seiches allumées,"—dry reeds aflame.

l. 34. "or Black and Red,"—*Fr.* "de noir ou de rouge,"—of black or of red.

P. 165, l. 2. "about ten or twelve Foot high." *Fr.* "de la hauteur de huit ou dix piez;"—eight or ten feet.

P. 167, l. 6. "shove, so they . . . Poles." *Fr.* "percher; ainsi appelle-t-on la manœuvre de la perche,"—poling, so they term the act of working the boat with a pole.

l. 29. Monsr. *de la Sale.*" [Omitted: "nommé Boisrondet," the name of the clerk.]

P. 169, l. 25. "dangerous." *Fr.* "difficile."

P. 170, l. 6. [Dates omitted: "toutes choses estant prestes le 1, le 18 nous prîmes congé"—everything being ready on the 1st, we took leave on the 18th.]

l. 15. "five Days." *Fr.* "huit jours"—eight days.

P. 174, l. 5. "lofty Coffins." *Fr.* "des cerceuils élevez"—coffins placed high above the ground.

P. 177, l. 6. "*Chicagon.*" *Fr.* "*Chicagou.*"

P. 178, l. 1. "Note." *Fr.* "billet & reconnoissance"—note and receipt.

l. 33 "*Chicagon.*" *Fr.* "*Chicagou.*" [This difference in the form of this famous name is maintained throughout. The translator had determined that it was to be *Chicagon!*]

P. 178, l. 34. "what we had conceal'd" *Fr.* "la cache"—[the same word is rendered in the same way on the next page, l. 8. The translator was

apparently ignorant of such peculiarly American terms as *cache*, *tomahawk*, *wigwam*, *scalp*, *squaw*, *wampum*, none of which he uses.]

P. 179, l. 15. "Manna." *Fr.* "manne." [Evidently maple sap. But were there sugar maples then at Chicago?]

l. 27. "Charvel." *Fr.* "cerfeüil"—chervil.

l. 31. "5th of April." *Fr.* "le huit Avril" —8th of April.

P. 180, l. 22. "might quit their Sanctuary." *Fr.* "ne sortissent pas de leur asyle,"—might not quit . . .

l. 28. "Voyage." [Sentence omitted: "Nous en partîmes le dernier du mois, & nous arrivâmes le dix May audit lieu de *Micilimaquinay*,"—We left there on the last of the month, & we arrived on the 10th of May at the said place of Michilimackinac.]

l. 30. "River." [There should be only a semi-colon after this word, as in the *Fr.*]

P. 181, l. 8. "The proper prayers." *Fr.* "les prieres" —the prayers.

P. 182, l. 7. "row'd." *Fr.* "Nous voguâmes"—we sailed.

l. 13. *Fr.* "le 27"—the 27th. [Date omitted.]

l. 21. "on which there grew." *Fr.* "il croit" —there grow.

l. 26. We got out of it again. [Date omitted. *Fr.* "le 7,"—the 7th.]

P. 184, l. 5. "Cod." [Phrase omitted after this word:] *Fr.* "pour venir en France,"—in order to reach France.

l. 10. *Fr.* "vendredy"—Friday. [Day omitted.]

last line. "October." *Fr.* "Novembre"—November.

P. 184, l. 4 of the SEQUEL. "as he was himself." *Fr.* "comme luy." [There should be a comma after "himself," though there is none in the *Fr.*]

P. 185, l. 2. "more largely." [There should be a period after these words.]

l. 3. "great share in those Discoveries;" *Fr.* "a eu part à de grandes découvertes;"—had a share in great discoveries.

P. 186, l. 18. "notable Exploits." "belles expeditions *dans*"—notable expeditions to.

P. 187, l. 34. "The *Dauphin*." *Fr.* "feu Monseigneur le Dauphin." [The Dauphin, eldest son of Louis XIV., had died but a year or two before the publication of the *Fr.* original.]

P. 188, l. 32. "Wild Fowl." *Fr.* "gibier, dont la chair est filasseuse, & sans goust;"—game, the flesh whereof is stringy and tasteless [the words after *gibier* are omitted in the translation].

P. 189, l. 32. "Opening on the Right Side," *Fr.* "Overture au droit de l'œil—opening opposite the eye.

P. 190, l. 18. "Images of Devotion, decently furnish'd . . . . ." *Fr.* "images de pieté; & ils en ont peu de veritable. Ils sont proprement meublez"—images of devotion,—and they have little that is real. They are decently furnished . . .

P. 190, l. 21. "Plate." *Fr.* "mais la vie ni les manieres des Ecclesiastiques n' édifient point. Festes & Dimanches, il n' est point question de Matines, de Sermon, ni de Vespres: on cause dans les Eglises, on y rit aussibien que dans les Processions, qui se font frequemment la nuit aux

flambeaux."—but the lives and manners of the clergy are not edifying. On holidays and Sundays there is no thought of matins, of sermon, or of vespers: people chat and laugh in the churches as well as in the processions, which are often at night by the light of torches. [All this omitted.]

P. 190, last line. "That Country would be better . ." *Fr.* "Ce païs seroit bon en quelques endroits, si les Habitans avoient l'adresse & le courage de le cultiver."—That country would be good in some parts, if the inhabitants had the skill and energy to till it.

P. 191, l. 2. "Indian Corn." *Fr.* "du gros mil"—coarse millet.

l. 24. "other countries of . . . ." *Fr.* "les païs chauds de . . . "—the warm regions of. . . .

l. 32. "it stands towards the Western End." *Fr.* "elle est à la pointe occidentale"—it stands at the western point. [One of the few instances in which the translation corrects the *Fr.*]

P. 194, l. 2. [Paging here jumps from 191 to 194.] "and Brass Guns from twenty four to thirty six Pounders." *Fr.* "bonne artillerie de 24 & 36,"—good artillery of 24 and 36 [pounds].

l. 10. "about all uniform." *Fr.* "bastimens égaux à l'entour."—uniform buildings around it [the plaza].

l. 15. "each Mark being half a Pound" [not in the *Fr.*].

l. 16. "amounts to fifty." *Fr.* "va a plus de cinquante"—amounts to more than fifty.

P. 195, l. 4. "Galeons meet." [The following sentences are omitted here.] *Fr.* "Par ce mot n'entendez pas des Navires d' une grandeur extraordinaire; car la pluspart ne sont que des bâ-

timens fort mediocres, que la vanité Espagnole enfle & grossit par un nom de rodomontade. Mais si ces Vaisseaux ne sont pas grands, leur charge & leur richesse le sont. Avec tout cela cette Ville, l'abord des tresors des Indes Occidentales, est pleine de mendians: mais ils ne le sont que par leur faute, & par leur paresse."—By this word should not be understood ships of extraordinary size; for most of them are but very inconsiderable craft, which Spanish vanity strives to magnify by a swelling name. But if these ships are not great, their precious freight is so. For all that, this city, the gateway to the treasures of the West Indies, is full of beggars,—but it is by their own fault and by their idleness that they are such.

P. 195, l. 7. [Last clause of the paragraph omitted.] *Fr.* "& par dessus tout cela tient encore du Sauvage."—and, throughout the whole, savage traits still predominate. [It is to be noted that the translator's omissions in this Postscript are evidently prompted by a desire to soften the asperity of the tone toward the Spaniards.]

PP. 196 to 205. "Letters Patent." [These are not in the original, which ends with a table of contents. The "Index" is due to the translator, although the table of contents appended to the original is quite as useful.]

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